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COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE AND THE RISE OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLING

By

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

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FALL, 1982

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ABSTRACT

A climate favorable to multiculturalism, fostered in part by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism's report on the "other ethnic groups", has been prevalent in Canada during the last decade. A consequence of this climate is the emergence of ethnic bilingual/bicultural programs in a number of public school systems across the country. The English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in the Edmonton Public and Catholic School Boards is the most extensive and ambitious of these programs. The present thesis undertakes an analysis of the politics surrounding the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program and a description of the program and its students.

In attempting to analyze the political processes involved in the bilingual program's development four paradigms of community power structure have been employed. These four paradigms, the elite, the pluralist, the class hegemony and structural Marxist, each provide insights into the dynamics of community power in Edmonton/Northern Alberta. However, each of the paradigms also has shortcomings which render it inadequate in explaining the politics antecedent to the establishment of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. Thus, a new paradigm for community power structure research which incorporates the compatible elements of the existing paradigms and avoids their deficiencies is advanced.

It is hoped that this new paradigm offers a more accurate understanding not only of the power arrangements pertinent to the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program but of the Edmonton/Northern Alberta community power structure in general.

In addition, the descriptive data on the bilingual program and its students should provide a clearer picture of the bilingual program's structure, curriculum, and clientele.

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CHAPTER I

RATIONALE AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In Canada the teaching of minority ethnic languages and cultures is no longer limited to private ethnic schools. As of 1977 over 75,000 secondary students in nine provinces (excluding Quebec) were studying 'unofficial' languages in the public school system (Statistics Canada 1978: 40) and in many metropolitan centres local public boards of education offer a variety of 'ethnic' bilingual/bicultural programs at the elementary level.

For example, it was just in 1973 that the Toronto Board of Education gave initial approval to establishment of Chinese (and soon after Greek) bicultural programs in several elementary schools. This initial development has been considerably expanded under the Ontario Heritage Language Program wherein, as of January 1978, some 8,500 students were receiving mother tongue instruction for up to 30 minutes per day in an extended school day. To date, over 70,000 pupils in Ontario participate in this and similar programs offering Portuguese, Italian, Cantonese, Spanish, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Greek, Korean, Croatian, Russian, Polish, Japanese, and Ukrainian. The Toronto Board has also under its jurisdiction a native school serving a portion, albeit tiny, of that city's Indian population.

In the city of Edmonton, as of 1978, some 750 students were enrolled in English-Ukrainian bilingual classes at the K - 6 level in eight public and separate schools. This number has now nearly doubled and the program has recently been extended to the Junior High level. A similar German program has been started at the kindergarten and early elementary grades. Also, several high schools in the Edmonton area offer instruction in both Ukrainian and German. Moreover, 'cultural enrichment' classes are held in the Cree language in a few Edmonton schools.

Finally, even in Quebec where education and language are such volatile issues, the nascent PELO (Programme d'Enseignment de Langues d'Origine) involves more than 200 pupils. Like the Heritage Language Program in Ontario the Quebec program offers mother-tongue instruction for up to 30 minutes a day.

A recent study sponsored by the federal government (Pannu and Young 1976) of private ethnic schools across Canada encountered such interest in the kinds of public school programs mentioned above, that it was felt that the role of these programs now merits serious investigation. Hence, the study undertaken herewithin investigates the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program presently operating under the public and separate (Catholic) school boards of Edmonton. Most importantly, the study examines this particular program with a view towards understanding how the Ukrainian community of Edmonton was able to convince the authorities to allow the program largely at public expense. As well, the motivations, expectations and involvements of the school boards and the provincial government are examined from the initial organizational stages up to the most recent 'outcomes' of the program. The study, then, has two basic research foci:

1. the politics surrounding the decision-making process involving the school boards, the government, and the Ukrainian community, leading to the development of the program, and

2. the structure of the program itself, the progress and characteristics of students in the program, and a review of the evaluations of the program by the schools and the community.

The politics surrounding the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program (focus 1 above) will be analyzed from a "community power structure" perspective, but the study is not a community power structure study per se. Rather, a number of paradigms of community power structure will be tested against the substantive area of the "natural history" of the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. It is hoped that this 'testing' will provide insights into the development of the program as well as some clarification and perhaps resolution of the existing paradigmatic competition in the field of community power structure. Later chapters will deal with this in detail.

Community power structure theory has been selected to serve as the analytical perspective in this research for two reasons. First, the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program and similar programs across Canada have most often arisen as a consequence of local initiative at the municipal and provincial levels. The processes involved in convincing school boards and departments of education to accept bilingual/ bicultural ethnic programs in the public school system have included an array of tactics on the part of local communities which are often dealt with in community power structure analysis. Thus, the present research will make use of the valuable theoretical insights of community power structure analysis in an attempt to understand the power dynamics of the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Edmonton.

Secondly, while it may be argued that the existing paradigms of community power structure are too broad analytically to be applied to the micro-level data on the development of the bilingual program, it is precisely this analytical scope which makes community power structure theory suitable. More 'refined' instruments such as network analysis are limited in their analytical parameters in that such approaches do not locate the networks of individuals involved in the larger context of community power and certainly are not able to incorporate the impact of national power in their analyses. This thesis holds that a broad perspective, such as community power structure, is necessary in order to develop a full understanding of the processes involved in the establishment of the bilingual program.

Notwithstanding the above, there are many instances where each of the community power structure paradigms are far too 'blunt' analytical instruments to adequately deal with the data collected on the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. However, a synthetic composite analysis which makes use of the compatible elements of the existing paradigms will be attempted in order to overcome such deficiencies. Thus, a major purpose of this dissertation is the elaboration of a 'new' paradigm for community power structure research which is sensitive to local variations in power arrangements, but nonetheless maintains a relatively broad analytical perspective.

The second major research focus consists of a description of the program and an analysis of the numerous evaluations that the school boards and others have carried out over the years. An effort will be made to specify the program type and to assess its appropriateness given the initial motivations and continuing expectations of the Ukrainian community. Lastly, existing parent and teacher evaluations of the program will be examined. A more detailed account of the above research methodologies and procedures is provided below.

If multiculturalism in Canada is more than rhetoric there should be active recognition of minorities in public institutions. Political, social, and cultural factors all impinge upon the collective participation of minority ethnic groups in Canadian public education systems. Given the paucity of detailed descriptive analysis, these dimensions are in need of thorough elucidation.

Moreover, the recent proliferation of bilingual/bicultural programs in public schools across Canada indicates that current research in this area would be of national interest. Involved communities, parents, teachers, administrators, and elected officials should be informed not only of the structural characteristics of existing bilingual programs, but also of their sociological antecedents and consequences. Minority communities interested in developing bilingual/bicultural programs in their local public schools should have the experience of others to draw upon. For their part, the professionals and elected policy makers within the educational establishment have a responsibility to become more fully cognizant of the possible benefits and costs of these programs.

The ethnicity of the minority group (eg., Ukrainian, German, Chinese,...etc.) associated with the particular program is not inherently important to this study. Positive research benefits may well have accrued from studying a number of bilingual/bicultural school programs serving several different ethnic communities, but such comparative research is beyond the scope of the present study. In light of this and other considerations (i.e., availability) the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Edmonton was selected for investigation. The program is ideal for study because it is one of the most extensive and well developed programs of this sort in Canada.

Given the growing occurrence and innovative forms of publicly sponsored bilingual/bicultural school programs, the present research is both relevant and topical. It is hoped that the increased knowledge and understanding that should result from this study will facilitate the amelioration and continued evolution of similar programs.

Methodology

As mentioned previously, there are two basic research foci included in this study. The first concerns the politics and community power dynamics surrounding the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, and second deals with the structure, students and evaluations of the program.

Within the first focus data was collected with a view towards developing a 'natural history' of the processes leading up to the creation of the English-Ukrainian program. Community support for language/culture maintenance in general and its goals for a public school program in particular are important concerns. The political interaction between the schools, government and community during this antecedent period are to be described within an explanation of how and why the programs came about. For this purpose the research techniques of document analysis, interviews, and informal discussions were utilized. Such a methodological package is appropriate in that these techniques are said to be well suited to gathering information on processes, patterns, incidents, and natural histories (McCall and Simmons 1969).

Interviews were held initially with active community members, teachers and administrators of the school program, and any other persons in 'prominent' roles. The sampling procedure for all formal interview subjects was rather open. After the initial 'obvious' choices, "snowball" sampling (McCall and Simmons 1969) took over.

Aspects of the second focus which concern the organizational and structural characteristics of the program itself are largely descriptive. Hence, interviews and informal discussions with school personnel as well as appropriate document analysis (e.g., course outlines, texts, etc.) were the methodologies employed. In determining the effects of the program upon the students a pre- and post-test of pupil language competency and 'cultural identification' would have been ideal. Aside from the practical difficulties in obtaining permission to administer such tests, the nature of the tests themselves is perhaps more problematic. Obviously, to develop objective test criteria for 'cultural identification' is not an easy task. Yet testing for linguistic competency is very much more involved than one may at first realize.

Fluency in a language implies competency in listening (comprehension), speaking (pronunciation, intonation, etc.), reading (structure and vocabulary), and writing (Valette 1967). In any language program all four must be taught and tested. Significant numbers of immigrants lack the skills of reading and writing. As well, many speak numerous dialects. Can a dialect be said to be 'inferior' to the standard form, or indeed inferior to another dialect? Testing for competency must be sensitive to dialect differences. Fluency tests for young children also must be appropriate to their age and grade level. These considerations make thorough testing of language competency-fluency a complex endeavour.

When considering the competency of grade school pupils teacher reports can be an appropriate means of determining student language knowledge. Fishman & Nahirny (in Fishman 1966: 116-121) relied upon "teacher estimates of mother tongue knowledge and attitudes of their pupils". Using these teacher reports they felt justified in concluding that pupils obtain proficiency in the "passive" (e.g., reading and listening) more frequently than in the "active" (e.g., writing and speaking) aspects of language mastery. Accordingly, formal testing was not undertaken because teacher reports and existing class tests served adequately. Indeed, a great deal of the necessary information regarding student language skills was already available on existing tests and, consequently, new testing would have been needlessly time consuming and redundant.

Thus far only the testing of language competency has been discussed. What are the problems in testing 'cultural identification'? The concept of cultural identification may be operationalized into the variables of cultural 'knowledge', 'awareness', 'involvement', 'commitment', and 'positive assessment' of one's culture, etc. But can one adequately test for these variables? Valette (1967:163) feels that testing for culture means, in practical terms, testing on the history and literature of the target language:

> Culture in this broad sense, has two major components. One is anthropological or sociological culture: the attitudes, customs, and daily activities of a people, their ways of thinking, their frames of reference. Since language is a direct manifestation of this phase of culture, a society cannot be totally understood or appreciated without a knowledge of its language. The other component of culture is the history of civilization. Traditionally representing the 'culture' element in foreign-language teaching, it includes geography, history, and achievements in the sciences, the social sciences, and the arts. These two phases of a particular society's culture are most closely joined in the literature that gives expression to that culture.

For the age group with which the present study is concerned, extensive history and literature testing was not feasible. One readily recognizes that "the student should be able to read the target language with a certain facility ..., otherwise the study of a literary text is an exercise in decoding or deciphering" (Valette 1967:167). Elementary students generally do not have a well developed reading facility in any language. Again, it proved to be expedient to rely upon teacher and parent reports.

Another aspect of the second focus is a determination of the community's and school's evaluation of the bilingual/bicultural program. During formal interviews, casual discussions, and other observation some general impressions regarding the evaluation of the program's worthiness emerged. To gather more precise information and to clarify/validate the general impressions two methods might have been used. A strict and formal interview schedule directly addressing program evaluation might have been applied, as it were, in the form of an oral questionnaire. A formal questionnaire could receive much wider distribution (teachers, parents, and other community and school persons) and could pose a larger number and variety of questions. However, neither extensive interviews nor formal questionnaires were decided upon because there was already available from the school boards a series of questionnaires concerning the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program.

The various investigative techniques discussed are somewhat disjointed even within the context of the stated research foci. Although it is desirable and necessary to outline "an adequate and correct description of the research operations -- in short, of how to observe the same sort of thing" (Junker 1960:4), there is obvious danger in trying to force a schedule upon any field setting. A researcher has little, if any, control over the sequence of events or the peculiar characteristics of a particular social setting. In any event, the 'research operations' indicated were carried out until as much relevant information as was feasibly possible was collected.

This first chapter will be followed by a general introduction to language, culture, ethnicity, and the educational efforts by minority ethnic groups to sustain their language and culture. To assist in the description of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual

Program, a typology of bilingual programs will also be suggested. Subsequent chapters will outline and discuss the relative merits of the existing paradigms of community power structure, present and analyze the data collected, and finally propose a new paradigmatic approach to community power structure research.

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND ETHNICITY IN EDUCATION

Language, Culture and Ethnicity

While the intent of this study is emphatically not an elaboration of the sociolinguistic debate concerning the relation of language to culture, a precursory discussion of this relationship will serve as a sensitizing catharsis.

Certainly, though the exact nature of the language-culture "relation" cannot be precisely delineated, it is assumed that such a relationship exists and is intimate. Christian and Christian (in Fishman 1966:300ff) posit that language and culture are "based upon and derived" from "reality" and, simultaneously, both language and culture "create and mold" that reality in a circular process. Statements such as these can be assailed as being overly simplistic and even trite, yet critics are most often at a loss to themselves explain the role language plays vis-à-vis culture.

Enculturation (the acquisition of one's own culture) can be seen 'linguacentrically': "It is in the course of learning his language and how to use it that every human being acquires the bulk of his culture" (Goodenough in Hymes 1964:39). Not only is the child seen to learn his culture through language but also to express his culture when he exercises his language. "The major role of speech, from this point of view, is to sensitize the child progressively towards the demands that will be made upon him by the normative arrangements of his group, by modifying his experiences and so stablizing his perceptions. And this process is reinforced every time he speaks" (Bernstein in Hymes 1964:258). Hence a definition of language must depend ultimately upon its cultural context (Goodenough in Hymes 1964:37):

> It consists of whatever it is one has to know in order to communicate with its speakers as adequately as they do with each other and in a manner which they will accept as corresponding to their own. In this sense, a society's language is an aspect of its culture. ... The relation of language to culture, then,is that of part to whole.

Although language is merely 'a part' of one's cultural identity, its significance is in no way secondary to other cultural processes in that the interrelation of language and other aspects of culture is so close that no part of the culture of a particular group can be properly studied without reference to the linguistic symbols in use. "In consequence of this view of culture as an integrated whole, changes in the several departments of a culture cannot be regarded as distinct and unrelated but must be viewed as different aspects of a single process. Changes in one aspect of a culture must inevitably result, sooner or later, in changes in all other aspects" (Hoijer in Hymes 1964:457). The resultant implication is that not only can non-linguistic cultural changes result in language changes, but that the converse is also true; that linguistic change can result in cultural changes in general.

Indeed, "what is assumed is that language retention is an important aspect of cultural retention, and that it plays a dynamic role in cultural development and change" (O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska 1976:2). The same authors conclude that "language retention then implies at least some cultural retention as well, while the reverse is not necessarily true" (1976:4). Some may find such a conclusion hardly axiomatic. "The retention of a language does not automatically prevent the loss of a cultural identity. ... If culture is to be retained, ... the mother tongue must be cultivated to service that role" (Lamerand in Dubois 1977:72). Lamerand (in Dubois 1977:66) continues; "it is when people seek to understand themselves and their patterned way of life that the choice of a vehicle of expression becomes the vehicle of a culture". From this perspective, then, language is not necessarily a 'vehicle' for culture unless it is overtly pursued as such. Yet, according to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book 4 (1969:13):

> culture and the language that serves as its vehicle cannot be dissociated. Language allows for self-expression and communication according to one's own logic. The vitality of the different languages ... varies from one cultural group to another, and even within these groups, where many people speak their ancestral language poorly or not at all. On the whole, however, those who care about their cultural heritage also care about ancestral language.

In their follow-up to Book 4 of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (known hereafter as the R.C.B.B.) O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska (1976:2) remark that "although it is noted that some groups do retain distinctive cultural traits despite their disappearing native languages ..., the original cultural traits survive only partially ... [and]they almost disappear after several generations. Thus, culture and language cannot be dissociated". Whatever distinctions are made between the concepts of language and culture, the R.C.B.B. (1969:6) refers to ethnic groups wanting to preserve their own language and cultural heritage as using their ancestral language to create "a climate propitious to the maintenance of the group's own culture". Thus, although the nature of the relationship between language and culture remains elusive, both the R.C.B.B. and ethnic minorities alike assume that the two are intimately associated.

The concept of 'ethnicity' can be seen as encompassing linguistic and cultural traits. Hayden (in Fishman 1966:193-194) found "three specific component-clusters of ethnicity -- observance of ethnic customs and traditions, knowledge and use of the ethnic mother tongue, and knowledge and appreciation of ethnic values and ideals". These 'component-clusters' are roughly similar to the variables of "Ethnic Identification", "Language Use" and "Language Knowledge" used by O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska (1976:157) -- the correlations of which are shown in Table 1. As can be seen the highest correlations are obtained for Language Use, Language Knowledge, and Ethnic Identification.

Another study (Fishman & Nahirny in Fishman 1966) found data disclosing that proficiency in the mother tongue (Language Knowledge) is again highly related to language use -- no causal sequence established. All of this is meant not to delineate a specific holistic or causal model of language and culture, but to indicate that one is inextricably associated with the other in the minds of academicians, policy-makers, and the general public. Certainly, this widely accepted notion of 'language qua culture qua language' is a crucial factor in any discussion of minority ethnic group endurance.

The relation of language and culture is not the only problematic fulcrum about which the sustaining of ethnic group continuance is balanced. The notions (and their connotations) of 'integration', 'acculturation', and 'assimilation' are not readily differentiated.

Table 1*

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR CERTAIN VARIABLES PERTAINING TO ETHNIC CANADIANS

	Ethnic Language Knowledge	Education	Income	Neighbourhood	Ethnic Identification	Ethnic Language Use
Language Knowledge (Fluent=+)	1.00	-0.24	-0.02	0.06	0.41	0.36
Education (high=+)		1.00	0.07	-0.20	-0.21	-0.23
Income (high=+)			1.00	-0.04	-0.03	-0.01
Neighbourhood Ethnic Composition (ethnic=+)				1.00	0.16	0.17
Ethnic Identification (ethnic=+)					1.00	0.40
Language Use (daily=+)						1.00

* From O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska (1976:157)

For its part the R.C.B.B. (1969:5) states that "integration, in the broad sense, does not imply the loss of an individual's identity and original characteristics or of his original language and culture. ... Integration is not synonymous with assimilation". Essentially the R.C.B.B. use of the term 'assimilation' refers most specifically to linguistic assimilation -- the 'loss' of one's ancestral language. On this point Gordon (1974) maintains that assimilation does not require that one 'loses' the knowledge of the mother tongue, but just that one ceases to use it. Moreover, the R.C.B.B. continues (1969:6); "the process of integration goes hand in hand with ... acculturation [which] is the process of adaptation to the environment in which an individual is compelled to live as he adjusts his behavior to that of the community". Obviously this explanation of 'acculturation' is narrowly derived from and applicable to the R.C.B.B. Book IV examination of ethnic minorities and language/culture maintenance.

To further obfuscate these definitional concerns, Gordon's (1964) well-known thesis explains that assimilation ("structural assimilation") as the disappearance of the minority group's identity, tends to lag behind acculturation ("behavioral assimilation") which is the acquisition by the minority group of the culture of the dominant group. However these terms are reconciled, the essence of the R.C.B.B. position is that in a multicultural society "integration and acculturation both can occur without assimilation" (O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska 1976:4). In common sense terms this means that an ethnic group should be able to participate fully in the larger majority culture without completely losing or 'giving up' its own cultural identity.

The above discussion highlights the difficulties in defining the relation of language to culture (and both to ethnicity) and also underlines the need for careful use of terms such as 'assimilation', 'acculturation', and 'integration'. Despite these problems, an investigation of bilingual-ethnic school programs -- programs ostensibly emphasizing minority language/culture maintenance -- can be undertaken successfully. The assumption (apparently held by those out in the 'field') that language is a dynamic, intrinsic component of culture will be accepted. This can be done legitimately as the present focus of concern is upon the 'political' developments antecedent to the creation of one such language/culture maintenance program as well as the structure of the particular program itself -- e.g., explication of the nature of the 'metaphysical gestalt' of language and culture is not a necessary component of the present research.

The assimilation/acculturation/integration differentiation is less problematic epistemologically, and to an ethnic community involved in language/culture maintenance these descriptive conceits are essentially semantic. Nevertheless the 'common' usage of these terms as employed in the R.C.B.B. will be accepted:

acculturation:	the learning of the majority culture without necessarily 'unlearning' one's own culture
integration:	refers to active minority participation within the majority culture, and
assimilation:	that state wherein the minority culture is extinguished by the majority culture.

Language/Culture Maintenance in Ethnic Communities

In this section several examples and explanations offered for community support/nonsupport for language maintenance programs will be examined. Three basic parameters to be isolated for consideration are social class, inter-generational factors, and the specific historical context of individual minority communities.

To begin with the latter -- "there are no rules that can be applied to all languages or that explain all the reasons behind the maintenance of one's mother tongue. However, there are discernible factors that appear to influence the rate of linguistic and cultural assimilation" (R.C.B.B. 1969:117). The R.C.B.B. factoral 'triad' consists of (1) cultural distinctness, (2) percentage of foreign born, and (3) urban-rural dimensions. The findings led the R.C.B.B. to conclude that the greater the cultural distinctness and percentage of foreign born in a minority community, the lesser the rate of linguistic and cultural assimilation. Lastly, rural ethnic communities, due to their relative isolation, were more likely to have better success in maintaining their mother tongue.

Somewhat along these lines, Heinz Kloss (in Fishman 1966:207) has found that "another factor favoring the retention of a non-dominant language is the existance of language islands (Sprachinseln), i.e., of circumscribed territories where the minority tongue is the principal tongue used in daily conversation by at least four-fifths of the inhabitants. The larger the island the greater its ability to resist assimilation." A situation closely approximating a 'Sprachinseln' is described by Robert Hayden (in Fishman 1966:190 & 194):

> Mexican-Americans in the San Antonio area possess an historical and cultural tradition that can be looked back upon and that can even be resorted to in considering their relationship to dominant Anglo society. ... For San Antonians the possible disappearance of their ethnic community is simply not a reality. It is so large, absolutely as well as proportionately, and it is so old, that its existence is simply taken for granted. Moreover, it continues to survive on a daily functional level.

In this instance the particular historical circumstances have helped an ethnic community sustain its linguistic and cultural identity. However, most ethnic communities in Canada are not so long nor well-established, and neither are they typically rurally isolated.

The members of lower-class ethnic communities, deprived of financial security and suffering from low self-esteem and the low esteem of others, are said (Lamerand in Dubois 1977:73) to "cling to customary rituals to shore up their embattled self-image". Yet the 'low' or 'folk' culture of these largely immigrant communities -- e.g., the 'strange superstitions', the peasant dialects, etc. -- is often scoffed at by their 'new world' children. According to Nahirny & Fishman (in Fishman 1966:354): "the more sophisticated aspects of national culture -- national literature, literary language, art, history -- were largely unknown and inaccessible to the peasant immigrants. There was thus little in the parental heritage that would make the sons proud".

On the other hand, members of higher-class ethnic communities are said typically to be more secure individuals, "less threatened when viewing himself as a member of a minority group, [and] native-language use will not be a crutch, but rather an instrument of self expression when appropriate" (Lamerand in Dubois 1977:73). Such higher S.E.S. groups in the view of Nahirny & Fishman (in Fishman 1966:354) are also to be more likely to sustain national sentiment (national consciousness) among their North American-born generations because their higher educational status and urban backgrounds lead them to reject "traditional ethnicity, partly because it has been associated intimately with the peasant class. Rather, they are determined to maintain and also transmit to succeeding generations a knowledge and appreciation of national values and ideals drawn from history, literature, and the like".

Confounding these ideas, Hayden's research (in Fishman 1966:192) found that although Ukrainians in Olyphant, Pennsylvania are more prosperous than those in Newark, N.J. among whom poverty and unemployment is considerably greater, "a much higher level of language maintenance obtains for Ukrainians in Newark than in Olyphant". Thus, as is evidenced, a facile equation of social class and language/culture maintenance can not be made.

A third factor hinted at above is the phenomenon of intergenerational language/culture loss. C.W. Hobart (1966) in a study of ethnic orientation in Canada among people of Ukrainian decent found that the children of immigrant parents were overwhelmingly either 'ambivalent' or 'rejecting' in attitude towards their parents' culture. Apparently there is not the "inter-generational stability" needed to successfully pass on culture and language. Yet, referring again to Hayden's study (in Fishman 1966:195-198 passim):

> The 'holding of the line' appears to exceed what one might expect, and indicates that there may be more interest in inter-generational continuity than is usually suspected. However, a noticeable

> intergenerational shift in emphasis apparently occurs. Ukrainian respondents in Newark, for example, tend to pay increased attention to schooling, as compared to their parents, in connection with maintenance of the ethnic mother tongue. The implication appears to be that a continuation of natural home and neighbourhood ethnicity, has become far less feasible. ... The children acquire only a halting knowledge of Ukrainian, and this is gained almost entirely in the elementary grades of their parochial school. ... All in all, one general finding stands out clearly. The active use of the mother tongue in the home is primarily responsible for enabling children to attain mastery of it. Without this the best of school instruction is likely to fall far short of functional mastery.

O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska (1976:165-177 passim, emphasis added), in their larger Canadian study, substantially agreed with the above findings but with a more pessimistic conclusion:

> Only seven in ten immigrants reported full fluency. Some of this may be attributed to a 'never was' condition since reading and writing skills were included in our fluency criteria. In any case, fluency was reported by only one in ten of the second generation, and had disappeared entirely in third and subsequent generations. There are some group differences in generation-specific rates of language retention, but these are actually rather minor differences. As matters now stand, the generational transition is a powerful force in language loss, even among those groups possessing higher retention rates. ... As early as the second generation, a lack of opportunity and justification for continued use of the ancestral tongue will rapidly reduce, and eventually extinguish, non-official language knowledge. ... Not surprisingly, a large number of respondents felt that the primary responsibility for the teaching of cultural and linguistic retention lay with the parents, but our data on loss-by-generation indicate this task is not being successfully borne by parents. Actually, the job of preserving language is quite possibly beyond them.

Thus it is understandable why the later generations (second and beyond) of immigrants are now looking towards schools and other organizational contexts (e.g., churches, clubs, etc.) to help sustain mother tongue and ethnic culture.

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion has helped elaborate the complexity of the problems at hand in undertaking a study of the dynamics of language/culture retention efforts. Below, private ethnic schools will be examined in their role as agencies of language/culture maintenance.

Private Ethnic Schools

Throughout most of North America, education in the past has always been an exclusive 'domain' for the use of English, regardless of the particular course content or topic, and the schools' particular locale. Conversely, 'native' languages are used extensively in the family, friendship settings, and religious as well as many other 'community' domains (see Fishman in Gumperz & Hymes 1972, and Spolsky, 1974). Only rarely has a 'national' or 'high form' of an ethnic language been recognized in an isolated perfunctory 'elective' or 'interest' course in secondary schools. In Canadian public schools the exclusive use of English, the 'official' language (French in Quebec), is an indication of the educational establishment's disregard, neglect and perhaps hostility towards minority ethnic cultures.

Consequently, "many cultural groups, feeling that neither Canadian society as a whole nor the Canadian public schools have provided adequate means for transmitting their languages and cultures to succeeding generations, have set up private schools to supplement or replace the public schools for their children" (R.C.B.B. 1969:149). On the other hand, the private ethnic schools have not worked out according to the expectations nor the complete satisfaction of a number of ethnic groups. According to Fishman & Nahirny (in Fishman 1966:93):

> The ethnic group school taught about ethnicity, whereas ethnicity consists of living ethnically. In the school, ethnicity became self-conscious. It was, something to be 'studied', 'valued', 'appreciated' and 'believed in'. It became a 'cause'. As it was raised to the level of ideology, belief system, national symbolism, or selective sentimentality, it also ceased being ethnic in the original and authentic sense.

Many private school supporters are "profoundly attached to the language of their forebears -- even if they are not able to speak it" (R.C.B.B. 1969:11, emphasis added). It is precisely these kind of ethnic community members who contributed to private schools' archaeological aura. In light of this, any 'outside' (e.g., government, etc.) fears that the private ethnic school curriculum would become 'too ethnic' or parochial were almost universally misplaced. In fact, "in every [ethnic] community, there are those who advocate placing great emphasis on English as the dominant language of North America while struggling to maintain the native language whose practical applications in the world of work appear very limited" (Lamerand in Dubois 1977:73). Thus, many second and third generations of ethnic 'immigrants' are plagued by the cultural discontinuities of 'marginal ethnicity' -- i.e., an originally 'functional' mother tongue becomes a "cultural ethnic mother tongue" (Fishman & Nahirny in Fishman 1966:96ff).

Beyond considerations of 'marginal ethnicity' and the lack of 'authenticity' in the ethnic school culture, the substantive issue of language retention emerges. In their follow-up study to the R.C.B.B., O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska (1976:170) report that "overall, language loss was mentioned most often as the most serious problem facing the ethnic group". An unintended result of the primacy given to language in cultural maintenance programs is that "although mother tongue instruction in [North] American ethnic schools is not entirely the same as 'foreign language' instruction, it is nevertheless increasingly of this order" (Fishman & Nahirny in Fishman 1966:104). In the situation where a mother tongue is taught as if it were a 'foreign' tongue, ultimate cultural maintenance goals are in fact preempted by the immediate aims of language retention. Thus Fishman and Nahirny (in Fishman 1966:107) conclude that "language maintenance efforts attain limited and narrowly linguistic goals at best, and that the broader culture maintenance and inter-generational continuity goals frequently advanced as the ultimate justifications for language maintenance are rarely attained."

Again, while one may adhere to the belief that 'language use which does not express a culture is empty' it is also difficult to conceive of a language program, foreign or mother tongue, without at least minimal cultural content. Indeed, a study of ethnic communities reported by Robert Hayden (in Fishman 1966:195) found that "encouraging the use and knowledge of the mother tongue as an end in itself (i.e., unrelated to encouragement of other [cultural] components) was referred to only infrequently". But despite this finding, Hayden's data also led him to conclude that often the ethnic mother tongue has come to be little more than another 'subject' in which one received a grade.

Privately run ethnic schools are not the only means by which minority ethnic communities seek to have their children educated in the mother tongue. According to Lamerand (in Dubois 1977:65-66), "for some for whom their native language is very much a minority language, there is a strong determination to maintain their prized possession not just for sentimental reasons..., but also because of the prestige of their native language in their own eyes". Fishman and Nahirny (in Fishman 1966:123) find that a common explanation advanced by ethnic communities for the lack of respect encountered by their mother tongue is that it is not sufficiently taught in public schools -- i.e., "If the 'outside' school does not show respect for language X by offering it as a language of instruction, then how can 'insiders', particularly the young, grow up to respect it?" Accordingly, many ethnic communities have sought to have their ancestral language recognized in *public* schools, not just in 'foreign language' courses, but increasingly (especially at the elementary level) as a *language of instruction* in addition to English.

This discussion leads to an examination of public bilingual (English/ethnic mother tongue) school programs and of the motivations behind such programs.

Motivations of Bilingual Schooling

"A bilingual school is a school which uses, concurrently, two languages as mediums of instruction in any portion of the curriculum except in the languages themselves" (Gaarder 1967:110) -- i.e., except in teaching a foreign language per se, and also excluding all E.S.L.-type programs (Fishman & Lovas, 1970). This will serve as a basic definition but as shall be seen in the next section many types of programs can exist in the various kinds of 'bilingual' schools.

An analysis of the motivational impetus behind these programs is temporally prior to the examination of the programs themselves. In this analysis bilingual education programs are not to be treated as independent variables in that they are not causal factors, but are, in fact, results of various social determinants.

The motivations or purposes behind the use of the ethnic mother tongue in the education of minority school pupils are numerous; among them are -- (1) to aid in the child's progress in school, (2) to strengthen 'home-school' relations, and (3) for the intrinsic value of the language itself (Gaarder 1967). The third purpose can be seen in nations (such as Canada and the U.S.) where the official national language has achieved 'international' status, and "a changing climate of tolerance towards minorities has often made it possible for ethnic groups speaking a language other than that of the national majority to organize, with official approval, their own schools in their own language" (Mackey in Fishman 1972: 414). Purpose (1) above has been termed "child salvage", which is differentiated from "language salvage", similar to (2) above, which "applies when for political, cultural, traditional, ethnic, or other reasons, a community wishes the school to take a major part in attempting to stem the process of language loss" (Spolsky 1974:26). The divisions between these motivations of bilingual education are often blurred.

The motivations for bilingual education from the minority communities themselves can be highly differentiated -- they can be 'assimilationist' (abandonment of their own culture); 'pluralist' (solicit tolerance of their culture); or 'militant-secessionist' (seeking independence). The assimilationist attitude may stem from a desire to become incorporated into the economic structures of the 'national' society. Historically, at the other extreme, during the 1600's "the Araucanians built into their activities resistance to the Spanish. Youth were indoctrinated with hatred and contempt for their foes as an essential part of their training" (Dohrenwend & Smith, 1962:33). Hence, even if community initiated, bilingual education programs need not be supportive of linguistic and cultural pluralism. Not surprisingly, Fishman & Lovas (1970:215) have found that to a number of "those who value the maintenance and development of cultural and linguistic diversity..., it is not entirely clear... that that is what most of the existing and proposed bilingual education programs have as their goal".

For example, a language can be used 'against itself' when schools function as institutionalized mechanisms by which minority individuals are acculturated into the national linguistic-cultural system. In this circumstance "the educational authorities set as their primary goal the incorporation of the children into the national life" (Modiano 1973:120). These kinds of gradual approaches to linguistic assimilation use bilingualism as a transitory stage and culminate in exclusive use of the national language. Accordingly, bilingualism generally and bilingual education programs specifically can be used as instruments of an assimilation policy.

Another motivation for state support of bilingual education programs is best illuminated by viewing the role of schools in the context of the larger society. Within multilingual systems many central governments and their educational authorities attempt to create national unity by establishing a 'one language' policy for all schools, but "such policies may well create inequalities and meet with resistance and may hamper, rather than enhance, the unity and integration of the system" (Kelman in Fishman 1972:200). According to Kelman (in Fishman 1972:198), in such systems any "aggrieved group is likely to feel that its sense of group identity is being threatened -- that its national (in the nationality rather than the state sense) language is being derogated, its cultural self-development and literary expression inhibited, and its educational efforts undermined ... because its language is not given due recognition". Over the long run these kinds of problems have been exacerbated to such a degree in North American schools and society, that the central authorities have had to deal with them. These authorities have learnt, however, that "a system can maintain its legitimacy -- even if it is not working effectively, is facing serious economic difficulties, or is torn by internal conflicts so that it can adequately provide for the needs and interests of only some segments of the population at the expense of others -- as long as it is seen by wide segments of the population as representing their national (ethnic-cultural) identity" (Kelman in Fishman 1972:188). That school systems have accepted bilingual education due in part to these very considerations would seem to be an inescapable conclusion (especially in view of the types of bilingual education programs, outlined in the next section). The concluding remark is left to Herbert Kelman (in Fishman 1972:202):

> In situations in which one or more of the weaker ethnic groups are suppressed, central authorities may actually have to take positive steps to protect their [the minority] subgroup identity -- to assume their freedom to develop their own cultural institutions, maintain their own schools, and preserve their own language. Such actions, interestingly, would enhance these citizens' instrumental attachments [i.e., economic incorporation] to the central system by servicing their sentimental [cultural] attachments to their subgroup.

Most of the motivations discussed above can be categorized according to three 'rationales' for bilingual educational programs (Fishman 1976). These rationales are as follows:

Compensatory -- has often occurred "whenever the expansion of educational opportunity (or obligation) was stymied by the fact that the official language of education was not always the mother tongue of students new to the educational system" (Fishman 1976:27).

Enrichment -- is found when an additional educational and cultural exposure is desired for 'privileged' students in 'advanced' nations.

Maintenance -- usually arises when a bilingual program is seen as a means by which language loss and cultural assimilation of an ethnic community can be abated.

The rationales behind most state sponsored bilingual education programs fall into the Compensatory or Enrichment categories, while the Maintenance rationale is typically behind ethnic community support of bilingual schooling. But, a strict dichotomization of state and community rationales does not always hold. The R.C.B.B. (1969:137) advised that "because of the interdependence of language and culture we must consider the teaching of languages other than English and French in the educational system as an important aspect of any programme to preserve the cultures of those of non-British, non-French origin". On the other hand, subsumed under the Maintenance rationale could be found several differing "Ideological Approaches" (Fishman & Nahirny in Fishman 1966:171) underlying "positive" language maintenance positions:

> Category 1: 'Nationalistic or separatistic ideology'. Responses that deal with the 'glorious history', the 'great heroes', the 'national mission', the 'cultural values', or other ideological, symbolic, nationalistic values.
>
> Category 2: 'Ethnic-instrumental self-maintenance'. As contrasted with the symbolic emphases of the previous category, responses that speak of preserving the group as a cultural-behavioral entity ...
>
> Category 3: 'General cultural and educational values'. Humanistic-behavioral rather than ethnic-instrumental or ideological rationales; viz., 'it is always good (for a person or for a society) to know another language' in order to be 'truly educated and cultured'.
>
> Category 4: 'American national needs'. Like the preceding category, responses that justify language maintenance without explicit reference to ethnic groups or their cultures, with a further generalization of language maintenance by pointing out that the current world situation is such that America must preserve its non-English language resources.

It is indeed a difficult task (and most possibly an unnecessary one) to create inclusive categorizations of universal application to state and/or community motivations/rationales for bilingual education programs. Nevertheless, one should be aware of the various motivations discussed above.

The next section will attempt to outline the many types of language/culture maintenance programs to be found in formal educational settings.

Toward a Typology of Language/Culture Maintenance Programs

Private Schools

In "The Ethnic Group School and Mother Tongue Maintenance" Fishman & Nahirny (in Fishman 1966) described what they see as the three major structural types of private ethnic schools:

All Day Schools -- Students attend these schools 'full-time' and do not attend public school. The regular curriculum set by state/provincial law is followed and an additional program of 'ethnic-religious-language' studies is also taught.

Weekday Afternoon Schools - Students attend these schools for a few hours daily after regular public school. As such the school's curriculum is supplementary to the standard curriculum and focuses upon ethnic language and culture.

Weekend Schools -- These schools, usually affiliated with a service organization or church, meet for a few hours on a weekend afternoon. This type of school has the fewest hours of instruction and is least intensive, but its curriculum is directed solely towards linguistic and cultural maintenance goals.

According to the R.C.B.B. (1969:157-158):

> The distinctive feature of a private ethnic full-time school is that it brings together children of the same cultural group not only to study but also to engage in recreational activities. The children attending full-time schools also participate as a body in ceremonial events within the cultural group and represent it in ceremonies in the community. They are often spoken of and addressed as future leaders of their cultural group. The segregation of the children from children of other cultural groups, and the emphasis on their potential for leadership, seem designed to reinforce their sense of ethnic identity and their loyalty to the group's values.

Despite the above, Fishman and Nahirny found that of the three types, All Day schools have ceased mother tongue instruction most frequently and rapidly, start teaching it later, and offer fewer hours of instruction in the mother tongue per week in absolute time than do Weekday Afternoon schools. In fact, "by every available index All Day School is far less concerned with language maintenance than any other type of ethnically affiliated school" (Fishman & Nahirny in Fishman 1966:95). The implication is that these schools place such emphasis upon the general curriculum that ethnic language and culture are only minimally treated.

Be this as it may, all three types of schools tend to teach 'other ethnic subjects' (e.g., art, music, dance, etc.) in the mother tongue along with the teaching of the mother tongue itself. In a number of All Day Schools the latter has been dropped and replaced by 'other ethnic subjects' exclusively, and these in turn frequently end up being taught in English (i.e., when appropriate children's literature is unavailable or too costly). Furthermore, "in some cases, mother tongue instruction previously integrated with other ethnic subjects is 'broken out' as a separate identifiable subject when language maintenance begins to slip badly" (Fishman &

Nahirny in Fishman 1966:109). In such situations the mother tongue often is taught as a sterile foreign language.

In addition, the 'embeddedness' of the ethnic teacher in the ethnic community is seen as an important factor in the ability to convey the cultural components of ethnicity. Great variance of teacher integration into the ethnic community (i.e., 'embeddedness') was found by Fishman and Nahirny (in Fishman 1966) according to two indices -- (i) the reading of ethnic group press and familiarity with other ethnic media, and (ii) affiliation with ethnic organizations. The teacher's knowledge of the local ethnic community's patterns of speech (e.g., dialect, conventions of address, etc.) according to Sharma (in Taggert 1977:98) is vital because such a "teacher will always be the ideal communication model ... to ... reflect speakers in the outside world, or simulate those communication situations with which the students will be faced outside the classroom".

Yet, despite the background or ethnic embeddedness of mother tongue teachers in ethnic schools, there remains the question of their motivations and orientations towards language-culture maintenance. Two broad categories of "mother tongue teachers' goals" have been provided by Fishman & Nahirny (in Fishman 1966:121):

> The first approach to language maintenance concentrates on speaking facility, the second on psychological justification. The first approach emphasized ethnic behavior, in language as in other ethnic domains; the second, ethnic appreciations. While it is possible to artfully combine these goals, given a very able and sophisticated teacher, just as it is possible to artlessly subvert them both to a sterile professionalism, most usually one or the other of them is clearly preferred.

In these regards the teacher may take his/her orientation from the over-all maintenance philosophy of the school (explicitly stated or not) or he/she may (unwittingly or not) take on the other (behavior or appreciations) approach. The concomitance (or non-concomitance) of the individual teacher's goals and the entire school's linguistic leitmotiv can be a crucial element determining the success or failure of language maintenance programs.

In a report to the R.C.B.B. Krubovski & Mckellar (1966) criticized private ethnic schools, claiming that too often they offered programs of poor quality, were not appealing to students, and that the ethnic tongue frequently was presented as merely a formal review of grammar and reading -- not as a 'living' language. Though All Day schools are "subject to inspection by educational representatives of the province, and their grades and diplomas are recognized by the provincial departments of education" (R.C.B.B. 1969:157), up until recently Weekday Afternoon and Weekend schools have been completely free of any official government jurisdiction. Within the last few years the Province of Ontario has passed legislation putting private ethnic "Saturday Schools" (i.e., Weekend and Weekday Afternoon schools) under the jurisdiction of the public school boards. Both teachers and texts must now meet board standards and the effect has transformed "the small-scale community organized tuition into teaching to be sanctioned by school boards" (Lamerand in Dubois 1977:63).

This transformation can be seen as a response, in part, to the criticisms of the quality of program in the ethnic schools, to the demands by such schools for official 'legitimization' and, in some instances, for government funding.

Public Schools

Although the most direct attempts at language maintenance have occurred in privately organized ethnic schools, support (and even preference) for public school instruction in ethnic tongues is widespread. O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska (1976:176) "have found that, in general, it is not the ethnic school which is most favoured, but the public school, and especially the lower grades of the public school. There is very strong and clear support among many members of Canada's ethnic minority groups for inclusion of the non-official languages in the courses of instruction and as vehicles of instruction in public schools". Official response from the R.C.B.B. is that ethno-cultural groups should have the opportunity to have ethnic language and culture taught in the public system, but that it is not feasible to employ these mother tongues generally as languages of instruction. Hence the conclusion; "it is perfectly reasonable that they should be taught as academic subjects in the [public] schools and used for instruction in private institutions" (R.C.B.B. 1969:13).

The R.C.B.B. did not see these 'academic' courses as replacing the part-time ethnic schools, or even as making them redundant.

> For two reasons, we neither expect nor intend that existing part-time ethnic schools would be eliminated by the provision of optional language classes in the public school system. First, the new classes will teach language and culture as specific subjects within the basic curriculum. Part-time ethnic schools also teach language and culture, but at the same time they attempt to pass on to the students the total cultural heritage of their parents and to do so

> in as much detail as is possible in a society where everyday life is conducted in another language. This heritage may include particular religions or social traditions and economic or political ideology, and possibly even a dialect of the language. Since the public schools cannot and should not transmit such knowledge, there is little doubt that ethnic associations will continue to organize their own schools. Second, some cultural groups, because of their small size and lack of geographic concentration, will not have access to classes in their ancestral language in the public school system. Such groups may be equally concerned about the maintenance of their language and culture and may therefore wish to operate part-time schools (R.C.B.B. 1969:149-150).

The R.C.B.B. agreed with minority groups that the elementary school years were the most important for the purposes of language maintenance and recommended that, where there was 'sufficient' demand, "the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school programme" (1969:141). Although the commissioners did not see the "feasibility" of using the minority ancestral tongues as languages of instruction, they did relent that it could be used under particular conditions (R.C.B.B. 1969:143):

> A phased introduction of the appropriate official language as the language of instruction may be the most effective method for such classes [of immigrant children]. Where there are sufficient numbers and resources instruction might be given in a language other than French or English in Grade I, with the appropriate official language being introduced gradually up to Grade V and the mother tongue concurrently reduced. After Grade V special instruction should no longer be necessary.

Such a program has a 'child salvage' orientation and by its nature is not intended to be a language maintenance program. A recent Canadian study of similar "Bilingual Transition Programs" concluded that the use of minority languages in the class has facilitated the 'integration' of immigrants into the majority language community (Henderson 1977). More will be said of this kind of 'bridge' program in conjunction with the forthcoming discussion of the 'Types of Bilingual School Programs'.

At the secondary school level, the R.C.B.B. mentions that "world languages" (e.g., Spanish, Italian, Russian, etc.) have a place in the high school curriculum. As well, the teaching of 'other' languages in geographic areas with large numbers of a particular ethnic group (e.g., Ukrainian in the Prairie Provinces) could also be taught in secondary schools. Also, it suggests that after students had properly learned an official language in their elementary education, the use of a non-official language as a secondary school instructional medium "might be possible in the future" (R.C.B.B. 1969:145). This tentative remark may well have opened the door to the instructional use of ethnic mother tongues in secondary schools. The specific consequences remain to be seen.

The importance of using the mother tongue as a language of instruction rather than merely as being taught as a foreign language, or in conjunction with 'other ethnic subjects' is not to be underestimated. It is widely held that the use of a language as "the language of instruction will always carry with it the affirmation of a culture," and further, that in foreign language-type programs the ancestral language is taught as "devoid of culture" or "as the empty vehicle for culturally neutral comment" (Lamerand in Dubois 1977:67 passim). In order that the connection between language and culture can be made, "the language usage taught must be given a concrete context. ... A Course in Lithuanian, even at thirty minutes a day, will be ineffective if an initial period of transition is not followed by instruction in the target language" (Lamerand in Dubois 1977:67, 71). To overcome these difficulties 'immersion' programs beginning at the elementary level are recommended, wherein more time could be spent upon functional language use rather than merely language presentation and rote drilling (Sharma in Taggart 1977).

In any event, the types of minority language programs offered in public schools will always extensively use the official language regardless of particular organizational structures of the program. In this sense all public school minority language use is within a 'bilingual' context (i.e., in that both official and ethnic languages are used). A more extensive examination of bilingual school programs is given directly below.

Types of Bilingual School Programs

Although the definition of a bilingual school that was mentioned previously referred to the concurrent instructional use of two languages in all aspects of the curriculum, the types of bilingual education programs in existence in North America are varied and different. The program may feature, at one stage or another, total immersion in the second language (SL); teach the mother tongue as a SL component of the curriculum; conversely teach the 'national' or 'official' language as the SL component, or finally use both languages equally (Paulston in Troike & Modiano 1975). Regarding language competency, it has been shown that initial immersion into the second language can be successful in creating competent bilinguals if the program is carried out in a 'very good' school (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Swedish data (see Paulston in Troike & Modiano 1975) indicate that 'double semilingualism' (i.e., two languages both poorly learned) can result from the very same initial second language immersion programs if schools are 'poorly' run. 'Sesquilingualism' (i.e., one language learned poorly, the other well) often results in programs where one language is dealt with as a SL component.

In this research, however, the focus is also upon the cultural aspects of ethnic language use in schools, rather than with strict linguistic competence. William F. Mackey (in Fishman 1968) conceptualizes bilingual schools as a 'dual media' for two languages, as opposed to a 'single medium' school where only one language is used (usually the official language). Within these dual media schools two different types can be described -- (1) "Parallel media schools [which] are based on the policy that both languages be put on an equal footing and used for the same purposes and under the same circumstances", and (2) "divergent media schools [which] use the two languages for different purposes" (Mackey in Fishman 1968:561, 562). The latter type of dual media school is the most prevalent (Gaarder 1967:116):

> Unequal time, unequal treatment for each language characterizes bilingual schooling throughout the world. Typically, the added language (i.e., taught in addition to the national, official or regular school language), whether it is the mother or the other tongue is kept in

> a subordinate position. This is commonly true of the mother tongue, as when rising nationalism forces [its] introduction.

Yet whichever the particular media which characterizes a particular school or classroom at a particular time, the educational system can switch media according to its goals. For example: school systems may attempt "irredentism" of the local ethnic language through switching from a dual media (mother tongue and national language) to a single medium (national language), or switching from a single medium (mother tongue) to a dual media (mother tongue and national language), and, perhaps, ultimately "transfering" to a single medium (national language). This kind of pattern has been described analogously to the functions of a bridge (Modiano et al. 1973:18):

> A more limited approach to bilingual education ... is to have a bilingual program for only the first few years of schooling. In this approach, once the child knows enough English, all course work is given in English, and the language of the home is relegated to out-of-school activities. This is called a 'bridge' program, since the language of the home is merely used as a bridge to English, and then is dropped. ... A bridge program, if successful in its aims, will probably lead to the early disappearance of the home language.

In his study of "The First Seventy-Six Bilingual Education Projects" funded by U.S. government grants, Gaarder (1970) found that very few aimed for bilingual education throughout elementary and secondary school. Thus, most of those programs under 'some' community control were found to be 'unconsciously' supporting an 'assimilationist model' (bridge approach) while they expressed belief in a 'pluralistic model' (parallel media program). In fact the findings are "that the great majority of bilingual programs (well over 80%) highly approximate the extreme of the assimilation [model] while the remaining few are only moderately pluralistic" (Kjolseth in Turner 1973:15,16). Kjolseth (in Turner 1973:16) describes the situation forcefully:

> The ethnic language is being exploited rather than cultivated -- weaning the pupil away from his mother tongue through the transitional use of a [high] variety of his mother tongue in what amounts to a kind of cultural, and linguistic 'counterinsergency' policy on the part of the schools. A [high] variety of the ethnic language is being used as a new means to an old end. The traditional policy of 'Speak Only English' is amended to 'We Will Speak Only English'-- just as soon as possible if we begin with a [high] variety of the ethnic language rather than only English.

The use of the 'high' variety or 'standard' form of the mother tongue rather than the appropriate local dialect is, to Kjolseth (in Turner 1973:19 passim), a critical explanatory factor in the orientation of a school's bilingual program. Often circumstances are such that while the educational system is "realizing ethnic language maintenance within the school", the exclusive use of the 'high' variety of the ethnic language may be a "potent, albeit less visible, instrument of linguistic counterinsurgency" in that it "simultaneously promotes ethnic language shift in the community". This result occurs because the 'elitist orientation' of 'high' language use leads to increased potential individual mobility for the minority group's leading elite whose command of the 'high' variety of their language places them in "a particularly advantaged position for being easily co-opted by supra-ethnic interests" (Kjolseth in Turner 1973:27). In general, 'high' language use in the schools does little to enrich or support the folk cultural identity of the community which is actualized through the local dialect. Furthermore, in a bilingual community where the local dialect and an 'official' language are used in a 'stable' fashion, the introduction of the standard ethnic or mother tongue by the school may well be dysfunctional.

A widely encompassing and substantially inclusive typology of Bilingual Education is provided by Fishman & Lovas (1970). Their types of bilingual education programs are as follows:

Transitional --	the bridge approach, ending in monolingual national language instruction.
Monoliterate--	"programs of this type indicate goals of development in both languages for aural-oral skills, but do not concern themselves with literacy skills in the mother tongue" (1970:217).
Partial--	seeks fluency and literacy in both languages, but the mother tongue is restricted to subject matter related to the cultural heritage of the ethnic group.
Full--	is a fully, bilingual, parallel 'dual media' system.

There are shortcomings in all of these types of programs for the local ethnic community wishing to protect their linguistic and cultural heritage. The 'transitional' types, of course, lead to language shift and concomitant cultural assimilation; the 'monoliterate' types relegate the mother tongue to an inferior 'subordinate' position, thus undermining linguistic-cultural dimensions of community identity; the 'partial' approach often restricts the use of the ethnic language to ancient parochial history and old customs of the parent land -- 'dead' subjects of little interest to many students*; as for the 'fully' bilingual program, Fishman & Lovas (1970:219-220) conclude the following:

> Programs such as these enable us to examine the difference between developing balanced competency in individuals and producing a balanced bilingual society. ... This type of program does not seem to have a clearly articulated goal with respect to societal reality. ... As social policy they may well be self-defeating, in that they require and often lead to significant social separation for their maintenance rather than merely for their origin.

Thus the use of ethnic languages in the public school system has been shown to be complex and multipurposeful. The motivations behind public bilingual education programs are varied and often opposed regardless of whether they are the results of provincial/state policy or local community initiative. Either of the province/state or local community can have assimilationist or maintenance orientations. Irrespective of these professed orientations, the actual structure selected for the program may or may not serve the ends for which it was intended.

Summary

The motivations behind private ethnic schools and bilingual public school programs which are held by ethnic community and/or government remain crucial elements for empirical identification. At this juncture though, the introduction of a typology of 'in-school' language maintenance programs is appropriate.

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*A number of Chinese elementary students attending Toronto schools which offered 'Chinese Bilingual/Bicultural' programs complained to their teachers that they were "tired of that old Chinese stuff" and that "writing the language was too difficult". They expressed much more interest in mathematics, science, etc., which were taught in English only. As a result many resented the Chinese program. (Personal Communication)

There are two institutional settings in which such programs occur -- the private ethnic school and the bilingual public school. Within each of these settings there are sub-categories.

Private Ethnic Schools

1. All Day
2. Weekday Afternoon/Weekend

Bilingual Public Schools

1. Mother Tongue Immersion
2. Monoliterate/Partial
3. Fully Bilingual

These categories are by no means mutually exclusive in theory nor are they clearly distinct in practice. Many All Day private ethnic schools are fully bilingual, some offer mother tongue immersion at one stage or another, while a number have become, over time, similar to the monoliterate/partial type (see previous sections). The 'part-time' ethnic schools, Weekday afternoon or Weekend, often are of the immersion or fully bilingual type. In public schools the distinction between fully bilingual and monoliterate/partial programs is not easily made. Also a public school immersion program may only be a stage in an encompassing transitional supra-program. Nevertheless, this 'typology' of language/culture maintenance programs stretches across the continuum of program types to be found in practice and theory.

But this typology is incomplete. Its delineating parameters are partly linguistic (as for the public schools) and partly along 'time dimensions' (e.g., the amount of instructional time in the various ethnic schools). There is no specific reference to the cultural component of the types of programs, except to say that a school is an 'ethnic' one. One might naively conclude that there would be greater emphasis upon ethnic culture in the private ethnic schools than in public school programs. Again, Fishman and Nahirny (in Fishman 1966) have shown that such an assumption is fraught with misconceptions -- e.g., All Day schools frequently place much greater emphasis upon the general curriculum than they do on ancestral language and 'other ethnic subjects'. A public school ethnic language immersion or fully bilingual program may well stress more linguistic and cultural aspects than do many All Day private ethnic schools.

For its part the R.C.B.B. makes a dichotomous distinction between "'high' and 'low' ethnicity programs" (1969:153) based upon the degree to which the ethnic group's cultural identity is emphasized. While it may be fruitful to distinguish the 'high' or 'low' ethnicity of the programs within each of the original classifications, either of the 'folk' or 'national' culture can be accented. Correspondingly, a 'low' form of the ethnic language (i.e., a dialect) as opposed to the 'high' or 'standard' form of the national language could predominate.

Table 2 suggests a typology which incorporates most of the distinctive elements of language/culture maintenance programs discussed thus far. Distinctions further to those contained in Table 2 can of course be made, but little would be gained from formally distinguishing sub-classifications ad infinitum. This typology should not be used to limit the bonds of inquiry but as a guide to research. In the process of discovering where the

English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program fits into the typology a clear description of the program should emerge.

Table 2

A TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE/CULTURAL MAINTENANCE SCHOOL PROGRAMS

School System:	Private/Public
Structural Type:	All Day/Part Time
Instructional Media:	Immersion/Monoliterate Partial/ Fully Bilingual
Cultural Identification:	Folk/National
Linguistic Form:	Dialect/National Language
Ethnic Emphasis:	High/Low

Summary

The axiom that 'language is the key to culture' is widely held. Although such 'sloganeering' is to be mistrusted in its oversimplicity, a basic research premise in the present study is that language is indeed vital to culture. That the precise linkages between the two are difficult or perhaps impossible to empirically and theoretically explicate is recognized. Yet, regardless of these difficulties most ethnic communities concerned with cultural maintenance/revitalization view language retention as a pre-eminent component.

In their efforts to maintain their specific cultural identities many minority ethnic communities have established their own private schools. These schools (full or part-time) are charged with teaching the ancestral language and passing cultural heritage on to succeeding generations. Recently, though, minority groups have sought to have their language and culture recognized in public schools. One result of this pressure is the development of bilingual/bicultural school programs in an increasing number of public primary schools. One such program, the Edmonton English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, will be the subject of this study. The research will focus primarily upon the development of the program as well as its structure and outcomes.

The next chapter will provide an introduction to and discussion of the four paradigms which are to be found in the field of community power structure research.

CHAPTER III

PARADIGMS OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

This chapter is an attempt to isolate the main currents of community power structure research. In sorting out and classifying the various types of studies done in the field, four paradigms of community power structure emerge: the pluralist, the elite, and two Marxist approaches. These paradigms provide the analytical framework for the analyses in Chapters VI and VII of the data to be presented in Chapters IV and V (as well as Appendix A).

Community Power Structure

Interest in the study of power in the community can be traced back to the 1920's and 1930's when the Lynds studied Middletown (Lynd and Lynd 1929, 1937). From this beginning the debate over community power structures was taken up in full vigour after WWII with the appearance of Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure (1953). Yet despite extensive community power research and analysis over the last half century, there has been very little growth of consensus on concepts, research strategies or theoretical structures.

This continuing theoretical stagnation and ideological intransigence is most recently evidenced in G. William Domhoff's (1978a) Marxist reply to Robert Dahl's pluralist interpretation (1961), and Nelson Polsby's (1980) pluralist rebuttal of Domhoff. In this exchange Domhoff offers a "direct challenge" to Dahl's analysis and seeks to show that he is "wrong" about who really rules in New Haven. For his part, Polsby (1980) has added little to the first edition of Community Power and Political Theory (1963) except to accuse Domhoff, among others, of "manufacturing innuendos", "casting mere aspersions", and being "inaccurate". Obviously, this type of 'discussion' features much of the "talking through each other" which Kuhn (1962) saw as "inevitably" occuring when the relative merits of competing paradigms are debated by their respective proponents.

There are four relatively distinct theoretical approaches to the study of community power structure which may be seen as paradigmatic in nature. These include the elite paradigm exemplified by Hunter's (1953) and C. Wright Mills' (1956) studies; the pluralist paradigm, given its form by Dahl (1961) and his associates Polsby (1963, 1980) and Raymond E. Wolfinger (1974); and two Marxist approaches, the class hegemony paradigm (see Milliband 1969, 1977) and the structural Marxist paradigm (see Poulantzas 1973). Before explicating each of these schools of thought an examination of what is meant by 'community power structure' is in order.

The concept of 'community' has been given wide currency in social science since the time of Tonnies, but it has eluded precise definition. For example, G.A. Hillery lists no fewer than 94 separate usages of the term 'community', and concludes that "it is impossible to give the sociological definition of the community" (1955:31). Not surprisingly, others have dispaired of using the term at all (see Stacey 1969), deciding that it is a "non-concept" or is, at least, the subject of very serious conceptual disagreement. Replacement terms, though, such as 'local social system...' etc., have not gained any measure of acceptance and are just as fraught with conceptual confusion.

In the field of community power study the term community has most often been used to designate a metropolitan area, city, or town. A purview of the major community power research reveals the following communities have been the object of study: Middletown (Muncie, Indiana); Yankee City (Newburgport, Massachusetts); Elmtown-Jonesville (Morris, Illinois); Regional City (Atlanta, Georgia); Bigtown (Baton Rouge, Louisiana); Cibola (Ypsilante, Michigan); Pacific City (Seattle, Washington); Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and New Haven, Connecticut. Clearly, in these examples, community does not mean local neighborhood, nor does it include some broader notion such as the 'global' community. More accurately, in studies of this type, community refers to that geopolitically circumscribed social system comprising the city or town. So-called 'sub-communities' in larger cities have also been examined within the context of the larger community power structure -- e.g., the "Negro sub-community" in Atlanta (Hunter 1953) -- but their power structures have not been the focus of extensive study.

While the lack of a precise definition of community has not been seen as problematic in community power studies, defining 'power' has proven to be very contentious. Max Weber's definition of power as the ability of one to realize his/her will over the objections of others is given lip service in many community power studies. In a discussion of the concept of power with special reference to the local community Terry N. Clark (1967) lists 15 dimensions of power. Peter H. Rossi (1960) distinguishes five potential bases of power but comes up short of Delbert C. Miller's

(1970) ten bases of power, ranging from economic power through moral and religious persuasion. With so many dimensions and bases of power having been identified, it is little wonder that a universally acceptable definition of power has not emerged. In fact, much of the incompatibility of the community power structure paradigms to be outlined in this chapter arises from conflicting conceptions of power.

Categorizing approaches to the study of power in the community is a difficult endeavor. For example, Liebert and Imershein (1977) have identified four "paradigmatic alternatives" in community power research: the "social exchange" approach, the "structuralist" approach, the "social constructionist" approach and the "Marxist or critical theory" approach. The "social exchange" approach, according to Liebert and Imershein (1977:11), "comes closest to being heir to the old 'elitist' and 'pluralist' case study designs [in that] the basic method of both of the older designs and of the exchange approach is to try to identify those individuals in a community who possess certain major resources for power (reputation, position, wealth, etc.), and to explore the patterns of relationships among these individuals". Behaviours or reported behaviours of persons and corporate actors form the fundamental observations of the exchange approach to power and directly measured dyadic relations are the elementary building blocks of the community power network. Such studies, examining the utilization of power resources in matrices of dyadic exchanges, often result in mathematical models of community power structure which are very much unlike the elitist and pluralist studies, and are not widely pursued.

The second, and much more common approach, is the "structuralist" approach which is based upon the "assumption of the central importance of structure among formal organizations, interest groups, and interlocking hierarchies, yielding a notion of power as a wholly systemic rather than personal or interpersonal property" (Liebert and Imershein 1977:7). In this approach the community itself is seen to be the unit of analysis and its aggregate characteristics (diversity of organized institutions, the degree of interface among them, dependence or access to extra-community power centres, concentration in local decision-making, and the relative size of local interest groups or power centres) are the relevant independent variables. Dependent variables are typically public policy outcomes.

Despite the widespread use of many variants of the structuralist approach it can be criticized for omitting the qualitative aspects of power. Do the variables actually indicate what the researchers claim they do? How do the various actors in the community define their interests and benefits in power relations?

The so-called "social constructionist" approach addresses these questions since it emphasizes the way in which individuals experience power in communities, stresses the impact of symbolic actions, and emphasizes "the process by which community public policy-making becomes selectively translated into individual perceptions of one's own quality of life" (Liebert and Imershein 1977:10). This approach, however, has not found expression to any significant extent in community power structure research.

The fourth approach identified by Liebert and Imershein is the "Marxist or critical theory" approach. This perspective counters the other approaches in its emphasis upon the class basis of power rather than individual or aggregate community characteristics. Embedded in this approach is the assumption that power has to do with the domination of one group, or more appropriately, one class by another.

Liebert's and Imershein's four general approaches to power isolate a number of different types of power: positional, reputational, decisional, and systemic or class power. Miller (1970) defines positional power as essentially the formal power of authority within firms, institutions, public agencies, etc. As such it is not personal but institutional role-based power and can clearly be situated within a structural approach. The sociometrically defined reputational power, which refers to power and influence imputed to persons by others, is most relevant to the social constructionist approach. This is because the investigator relies upon the actor's perceptions of power relationships. Decisional power is issue-relevant and usually refers to the power exerted in formal governing bodies to resolve public issues. This concept of situationally determined decisional power can be very profitably used in the social exchange approach to power though it is not necessarily obvious that it can not be used in the other approaches. "Systemic or class power" is added by Domhoff (1978a) and, of course, is central to the Marxist approach.

The failure of the rival community power structure paradigms to come to a mutual understanding is explained at least in part by their differing conceptions of power. The earliest studies in community power used Hunter's reputational conception of power within an elite analysis. Later elite theorists, beginning with C. Wright Mills (1956), "tended to concentrate on the positional or structural level, using who sits atop key institutions as their indicator of power" (Domhoff 1978a:129). On the other hand, the pluralists have concentrated upon the decisional or situational level, using 'who wins' in particular decision-making instances as their primary indicator of power. Marxist work on community power structure and power indicators, according to Domhoff (1978a: 129), "has been concerned with systemic [class] and structural [positional] levels of power, using who benefits and overrepresentation in important positions of formal authority (in corporations, foundations, and ... government) as indicators of power".

It would seem, then, that Liebert and Imershein's classification, while heuristically useful, is too disassociated from actual practice to be completely satisfactory. Their "structuralist" approach, for example, has been used by pluralists and Marxists alike, and in some combination with social constructionist and social exchange variants as well. Hence, the elite, pluralist, class hegemony, and structural Marxist community power structure paradigms will be examined because they more accurately reflect the substantive and theoretical debates within the field.

The indicators of power employed within each of the four community power structure paradigms to be examined are indicative of their theoretical biases and underlying ideological assumptions. The elite paradigm regards reputational power and the power accruing to those in positions of institutional command as the major concern. The pluralist paradigm focuses its attention on the political arena and decisional victories or losses therein. For both Marxist paradigms, class domination is the major concern, with the class hegemonists stressing systemic class relations and the structural Marxists adopting a structuralist approach to the power relations between institutions within a class system. Both Marxist paradigms, however, are similar in that they see who benefits in the long run as the most telling indicator of power in the community. In sum, there are four basic indicators of power: who is reputed to have power, who benefits in the long run from the system, who governs important institutions within the social structure, and who wins on specific important public decisions. In practice, however, there is no direct one-to-one correspondence between paradigms and power indicators, although, as will be shown below, each paradigm tends to emphasize one indicator of power over the others.

The differences among these indicators of power should not be exaggerated, for often those persons who are reputed to have power do in fact govern important institutions (hence, the reputation), make important decisions, and ultimately benefit from the system. Marxists would add further that these persons are also members of the ruling capitalist class. It is also true, though, that analysis of each different indicator of power may well reveal that different groups hold power. Again, as will be shown below, the different conceptualizations and analyses of power associated with each community power structure paradigm do, in fact, lead to different conclusions about the structures of power in communities.

Though the discussion above has not resolved the fundamental issues surrounding the study of community power structure, it provides the groundwork for a more detailed examination of the four paradigms -- the elite, the pluralist, the class hegemonist, and the structural Marxist. Furthermore, within all of these paradigmatic approaches one or more of the four types of power -- reputational, positional, decisional, and class -- are analyzed. The discussion that follows will examine the four community power structure paradigms in terms of their respective conceptualizations with reference to the four indicators of power.

The Elite Paradigm

Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure (1953) remains the most widely popular elite study of the post-WWII period. Hunter found that Regional City (Atlanta) was run from behind the scenes by a small group of individuals. This elite group interacted socially and through informal means determined virtually all public policy of any consequence. Admission to this small elite circle of decision-makers was a consequence "almost wholly of a man's position in the business community in Regional City" (Hunter 1953:79). Civic leaders and politicians were subordinate to this economically powerful group who occupied the apex of Regional City's power hierarchy. Public policy and decisions on social issues being under the close control of the community's business elite consistently served the interests of this economic elite.

Hunter concluded that the private citizens who formed the economic and business elite also controlled government policy-making. For example, he found that formally elected officials usually cleared policy matters of significance with the most powerful private citizens in the business community without regard for the wishes of the majority of citizens. Hunter coupled this concept of "private" power with the notion of "inertia" (Hunter 1953: 207). Matters such as private property, religious tolerance and moral behaviour, though never quite settled to the satisfaction of all, presented no challenge to Regional City's community leaders in that the elite's hegemony had created an inertia in the habits and beliefs of the community. As a result of its private power and the community's inertia, the elite group was able to successfully dominate the social, economic, and political life of Regional City. Hence the power structure in Hunter's study, the first major empirical study using the elite paradigm, is characterized by the domination of local governing bodies by a powerful private business elite, limited 'rank-and-file' access to policy-making processes, and little opposition from the community's citizenry.

Hunter's notion of power is firmly in the Weberian tradition but his means of determining power is novel. His first step was to obtain lists of leaders in community affairs, business and finance, politics, and leaders of "wealth". He then asked a panel of knowledgable citizens to select from these lists people who were, in their opinion, the "top" leaders. Hunter thus generated a list of 40 people whom the panel members most often selected as top leaders. Twenty-eight of these "reputed" leaders were either private lawyers or engaged in banking, commerce or finance. This elite group of powerful leaders was, then, identified using a so-called 'reputational' methodology and was defined as powerful according to the concept of reputational power, although these leaders also had considerable positional power as well.

Were these leaders in fact the most powerful persons in the community? It may be argued that they had gained the reputation of having power through their actions in the community. If one's behaviour is evidence of power then one's reputation will reflect those behaviours. If this is so, why not directly observe the behaviours of actors in the community? On the other hand, if an actor is seen to have power by other actors in a social system, then that actor, by definition (in a social constructionist approach, at least), does have power over other actors. Although Hunter did compare the reputational power of his elite group against their actual positions in the Regional City community, there are obvious difficulties in equating reputed power with actual power.

Another variant of the elite paradigm of community power structure relies more heavily on positional power than does Hunter's study. This second elite interpretation locates power in the dominant positions within community organizations. According to this perspective, the combination of expertise, hierarchical control, the capacity to allocate human, technological, and material resources gives the elites of large-scale complex bureaucracies unparallelled power in virtually every sphere of community life. Consequently, there emerges a number of elites based on different technological and managerial expertise. While this multiplicity of techno-managerial elites appears to contradict Hunter's notion of a single dominant elite, it is consistent with both the Lynds' and Hunter's finding that there is a tendency for the power of elites to extend horizontally across economic, political, and social contexts. These technocratic elites supposedly recognize their common interests and create a controlling oligarchy through the coalition of their powers. This supposition has been challenged, however, by the argument that such 'cross-cutting' of elite power is unlikely because of elite specialization of interest and knowledge (see for example Polsby 1963). A counter argument maintains that such specialists are merely the 'hired hands' of the real power elite, namely, those who hold economic resources and control the political process (see Mills 1956).

These divergencies between elite theorists hinge upon the two different indicators of power used in each approach. The Hunter approach uses reputational power, with one's position a secondary indicator of power, while the technological expertise approach relies solely upon positional power indicators. The problems inherent in Hunter's methodology have already been pointed out but the positional method of locating community power suffers somewhat in comparison because it misses the very informal, 'private' power that the reputational methodology supposedly taps.

Perhaps C. Wright Mills (1956) offers the key to resolving this impasse. He argued that power is hierarchically distributed and operates at three levels: (1) the power elite level; (2) the middle-level; and (3) the level of the masses. The power elite consists of an increasingly unified, well-coordinated group of "corporation chiefs", "political directors" and high-level military "warlords". This group is cohesive and integrated, mutually dependent, and conscious of its position in society. Located immediately below this power elite are middle-level power groups which include politicians, locally elected officials, and various interest groups. These legislators and interest groups are basically adrift and relatively powerless in the face of the power elite's domination in every sector of contemporary life. The masses at the bottom of the pyramidal power structure are atomized and essentially without any significant power. From Mill's perspective then, it may be said that elite theorists who look to techno-expert positions in bureaucratic institutions as the focus of power are only locating the middle-level power of the functionnaries and brokers serving the power elite. This line of reasoning is most fully examined by the Marxist inspired paradigms to be discussed later.

In summary, the elite paradigm views the 'typical' community power structure as a pyramidal hierarchy with a single, relatively small economic elite making use of technocrats and managerial experts to maintain their power over the political system and the entire community. The masses of ordinary citizens or rank-and-file members of the community are at the bottom of the power hierarchy and have little access to and participation in community decision-making. A more critical appraisal of the elite paradigm will be included in the discussion of the pluralist response which follows immediately below.

The Pluralist Paradigm

By the early 1960's a number of studies, usually carried out by political scientists (among these are Sayne & Kaufman 1960; Banfield 1961; and Dahl 1961), were severely criticizing both the findings and research strategies of the elite paradigm of community power structure. These apparently more conservative political scientists challenged the earlier elite analyses of social anthropologists and sociologists by positing a pluralist alternative. Their rejection of the elite paradigm was often vehement and less than 'scientific', as evident in Rose (1967:xvii):

> Floyd Hunter's ideas still oversimplify the educated man's thinking about the 'power structure', and C. Wright Mill's The Power Elite has become a bible for a younger generation of 'new leftists' who have a deep-seated need to attack a society which they fail to understand.

The elite approach was criticized because it "encourages research designs which generate self-fulfilling prophecies, it leads to the systematic misrepresenting of facts and to the formulation of vague, amgibuous, unrealistic, and unprovable assertions about community power" (Polsby 1963:112). Robert A Dahl had perhaps set the tone for this critical attack in his A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model (1958) wherein he claimed that the so-called 'theory' of elite rule was non-scientific because it could neither be verified nor proven false. In taking up Dahl's critique of the nonfalsifiability of the elite theory, Polsby (1963:24) reasoned as follows:

> Any amount of evidence unfavorable to the view that the inner business control group rules can be discarded on the ground that

> the issues at stake are not essential for the maintenance of the power elite's position. The inner business control group only prevails on 'important' issues, which are likely to be (by definition) those issues on which the inner business control group prevails.

Both Dahl and Polsby assume that there are two polar theories, the elite theory, on the one hand, and the pluralist on the other. They then set up very exacting definitions of elite rule (Dahl 1958:466; Polsby 1963:99), which they claim had not been met in earlier elite studies. Hence, they conclude that community power structures are imperfect realizations of the democratic pluralist model.

As has been discussed, the local pluralist paradigm arose as an attempt to refute the elite paradigm of community power structure. Through their efforts to discredit the assertions of the elite theorists, pluralists generated five major principles of the pluralist paradigm (see Gitlin 1965:23-29):

> (1) There are no power elites; power is widely distributed in communities;
>
> (2) Power is always directly applied and observable;
>
> (3) Community power should be investigated with case studies of important decisions;
>
> (4) Only decisions made by formal political bodies or persons should be studied; and
>
> (5) The power system is 'slack' allowing for social change within it.

Principles (2), (3) and (4) above resulted in a clear rejection of the reputational methodology and the acceptance of the decisional method. Wrote Dahl (1958:466), "I do not see how anyone can suppose that he has established the dominance of a specific group in a community ... without basing his analysis on the careful examination of a series of concrete decisions. And these decisions must either constitute the universe or a fair sample from the universe of key political decisions taken in the political system". Thus Dahl argues, Hunter's reputational methodology prevented him from making any valid statements about power because potential power, assigned to persons by reputation, is not actual observable power exercised in a specific issue. Moreover, Hunter's notion of 'private' power was equally inappropriate because it did not deal directly with formal political bodies and their decisions.

Arguing the pluralist position, Dahl (1958:465) asserts further that "neither logically nor empirically does it follow that a group with a high degree of influence over one scope will necessarily have a high degree of influence over another scope within the same system". In the pluralist paradigm the power of leaders does not cut across scopes -- that is, across areas of endeavor over which their power is effective. This results in what Dahl (1961:196ff) refers to as the "non-cumulative" nature of power in pluralism and principle (1) above thus results. Hence, pluralists such as Polsby (1963:118) observe "society as fractured into a congeries of hundreds of small special interest groups, with incompletely overlapping memberships, widely different power basis, and a multitude of techniques for exercising influence or decisions salient to them". He goes on to state that at the local level "there seems to be an unspoken notion among pluralist researchers that at bottom nobody dominates in a town, so that their first question to a local informant is likely to be not, 'Who runs this community?'

but rather 'Does anyone at all run this community?'" (Polsby 1963: 116).

Edward Banfield (1961), among other pluralist researchers, found, along with Dahl and Polsby, that not only is power in the community non-cumulative and discontinuous, but many different individuals from many socio-economic strata can exert meaningful power and influence in many actual decisions. Hence, community power for the pluralist is not a static structure but is tied to issues, and, following Dahl's early work (1957), is most often seen to be an attribute of individuals. A clear example of the pluralist position is contained in Norton E. Long's (1958) study of Boston in which local community power was defined as an "ecology of games". In this framework each institutional sphere (economics, politics, social, ecclesiastics, etc.) can be regarded as a contest or game. As such, each individual plays a primary role in only one game, and though one can play other games, the primary role remains the source of one's rational conduct given the rules of that particular game.

What Long is presumably saying is that, while separate games may be loosely linked through individuals holding secondary roles in various games, community decision-making is not a planned, rational process, but is an almost accidental result which emerges out of the inter-play of the functional interdependence of local institutions (i.e., games) adhering to a generalized game plan (e.g., a system of values, goals, rules, and strategies). Those who are victorious in their primary game are then the most powerful in that game. Hence, overall there is no community power structure per se but merely an aggregate of power relationships between individuals (i.e., a social exchange approach) derived from a multiplicity of separate games. This view not only denies the existence of an elite group controlling all games, but also any rational governance of the community.

Long's ecology of games metaphor is the ultimate pluralist model in that each individual has power commensurate with how successful one is at a particular game, and this power is not permanent (i.e., it varies directly with one's continuing level of performance in the game). Moreover, an individual's power can only be minimally useful in other games in which the individual's participation is confined (by definition) to a secondary role.

Yet other pluralists more readily accept structural notions of community power. Hawley (1963), for example, likens the community social system to that of an energy system. Power in the social dimension, he notes, as with energy in the physical world, is ambiguous and exists in potential and kenetic form. In this metaphor 'kinetic' power is equated with actual exercised decisional power. Hawley feels that potential power is, at least in part, lodged in the system and is, therefore, an attribute of the community rather than strictly of individuals. Delbert C. Miller (1961) has termed this relatively permanent community-wide distribution of potential power the "Institutionalized Power-Structure of the Community" and juxtaposes it with the kenetic "Community Power-Complex" which is issue relevant, arises out of concrete organizational interactions in specific situations, and provides the major source of fluidity in the pluralist view.

These attempts at a pluralist conception of community power arrangements still rely on individually-based decisional power as the dynamic force in community decision-making, but depart from a strict social exchange approach by building a power superstructure on an institutional base. In recognizing this potential, structural type of power, however, these pluralist theorists revert to positional indicators of power. Positions in bureaucratic institutions have relatively well delineated limits of formal power and relationships between positions are also well defined. These static formal relationships are apparently the basis of the "Institutional Power-Structure of the Community".

Dahl's conception of the "slackness of resources" (1961:305) is put forward in terms of the individual but allows one to conceive of a system as being slack (as in the fifth principle of pluralism listed previously). Dahl contends that there are widely diffused and unused political resources in communities that individuals or interest groups can mobilize to further their influence. In fact, says Polsby (1961:131), "decision-makers become so by self-selection -- pushing themselves into the leadership group (on a particular issue) by showing interest, willingness to work, and competence". Thus, the pluralist perspective posits that there are considerable resources available to those who wish to give their time and energy to various problem areas. To be sure, some individuals have access to greater resources than do others but this does not mean that a power elite exists. Pluralism is said to exist in nearly all communities, but often in an imperfect form. A difference between Hawley's idea of structural power (the "Institutional Power-

Structure of the Community") and that of Dahl (the slackness of the power structure) is that the amount of power in the former is limited, while it is perhaps unlimited in the latter (i.e., a non-zero sum situation). Nevertheless, in both pluralist uses of structural power the individual, whether an incumbent office holder or user of resources, plays the major role.

Whatever its imperfections, a local pluralist system is seen to be a highly complex system with a multiplicity of varied participants involved in decision-making. This is because the complexities of modern urban industrialized communities mitigate against narrow or rigid elite rule; power is increasingly diffused/dispersed as a result of the need for technical expertness and the multiplication of competing interests (Freeman 1968). Given this assumption, pluralists view 'simple-minded' elite theories as unsophisticated and limited in terms of explanatory power.

The pluralist paradigm itself is a complex one in which numerous actors are seen as having causal impact; power relationships are seen as having a high degree of reciprocity and mutual interdependence; and, these power relationships are seen as varying with time and issue as well as in patterns of shifting coalitions. Accordingly, as the elite model is by contrast a simple system, having simple causation, Andrew McFarland (1969:222), another pluralist theorist, concludes that "demonstrating pluralism is the same as demonstrating systemic complexity". The hypothesis here is that, because many individuals and groups vie for power, a 'balance of power' emerges which apparently satisfies the criteria for a pluralist dispersion of power. But, as Gitlin (1965:44) correctly points out, the fact that there are "different groups contending for supremacy does not mean that their respective powers balance out".

Not surprisingly, McFarland (1969:222-223 passim) retreats somewhat from his original position that demonstrating pluralism is the same as demonstrating systemic complexity and admits that "spurious pluralism" can be found in instances where "bogus complexity" results from a multiplicity of actors being involved in making only "routine" decisions, but not "critical" decisions. In other words, pluralism cannot be said to exist if popular participation in decision-making is restricted to unimportant issues. As shall be discussed later, Marxist critiques of the pluralist model make much of the distinction between 'important' and 'non-important' decisions in debunking pluralist claims of wide citizen participation. For many pluralists the problem of what constitutes an important decision is resolved in large measure by concentrating exclusively on governmental decisions. These decisions, it is argued, are the most important decisions because, as Polsby (1963:4 passim) argues, "the political arena is the sector of community life in which large groups in the community make demands upon one another and collectively determine policy outcomes" which affect "large segments of the population of local communities". Notwithstanding the above, the most obvious deficiency of many pluralist studies of community power is that they take little or no account of non-governmental decisions and 'private' power.

A number of pluralists have recognized the need to look beyond purely governmental decisions and to examine the relationship between private economically-derived power and public governmental authority. Rose (1967:2), for example, describes this relationship as "a constantly varying one of strong influence, cooperation, division of labor, and conflict, with each influencing the other in changing proportion to some extent and each independently of the other to a large extent". Furthermore, neither the private economic sector nor the political authorities are seen to be monolithic units acting with internal consensus and coordinated actions with regard to each other. Consequently, conflict and cooperation between government and private powers is multilateral, changing from decision to decision, with consensus being achieved only temporarily and on a limited number of issues, if at all. Also, according to Dahl (1961:101), political leaders have some incentive because of the electoral process to meet the wishes of their constituents and to reflect the 'popular' will. To summarize, within the pluralist paradigm of community power structure the core function of local governing bodies is to achieve some measure of consensus and thus maintain social order through a continuous exchange of demands and responses with various interest groups within an ongoing process of bargaining (see Alford 1975:146-148).

Despite the emphasis on consensus and order in the pluralist model of local community power structure, conflict plays an important part in its decisional methodology and conception of power. Generally speaking, the pluralist researcher studies conflicts in governmental decision-making in order to reveal those individuals or groups who are successful, and thus to demonstrate who has exercised the most power in a particular decision. Where no apparent conflict exists, no decision one way or another requires the use of power. Yet the critics of the pluralist decisional perspective see its operational definition of power as deficient in that power relations are also manifest in "non-decisions" which maintain the status quo (Bachrach & Baratz 1962; 1963). Elites, it is alleged, transmit a "false consensus" (see Dahl 1958 for a discussion of this term) to non-elites through a conscious and unconscious "mobilization of bias" (Schattschreider 1960) such that the non-elites do not recognize their major conflicts with the elite. Moreover, when non-elites do recognize their disagreements with the powerful elite they often anticipate that they have no chance of prevailing over the elite on any decision and so do not raise the issue.

Pluralists reply that the problem of "false consensus" is based upon a tautalogical theory (Merelman 1968) which claims that important conflicts are subdued before coming to the point of decision-making through the elites' "mobilization of bias", and that the conflicts which are allowed to reach the decision-making process (i.e., in government) are allowed by the elite because they are trivial issues which do not threaten the elite. In either case, it is argued, decision or non-decision, the existence of an elite is presumed. As for the elite theorists' claim that anticipation of reactions causes non-elites to refrain from acting on their conflicts with the elite because they see their goals as unattainable in the elite-dominated decision-making process, pluralists reply that such logic relies upon a virtually infinite regress of anticipated reactions (Merelman 1968). As such, anticipated reactions can tell us little about the power structure of a community and in no way can be used to 'prove' the existence of an elite. Pluralists, on the other hand, are likely to view the relative lack of public conflict and inertia on the part of citizens as evidence of basic agreement on and general satisfaction with the course of public events. Perhaps, here, the pluralists assume at least as much as do the elite theorists.

An important criticism of the pluralist school is that researchers within this tradition, in failing to demonstrate the existence of classical pluralist democracy in local communities, have substituted a new and misleading model of pluralism. In this changed meaning of pluralism, rather than widespread grass roots participation, bargaining and opposition among a number of elites has become the essential criterion for pluralism. As Presthus (1964:21) puts it, advocates of the pluralist interpretation of community power structure "now agree that pluralism exists if no single elite dominates decision-making in every substantive area". This notion of pluralism is a major modification of the traditional definition of the term which historically included as a necessary condition active 'rank-and-file' citizen participation in local affairs and decisions, as well as a reasonable equity of power among all those interested.

Robert Dahl, one of the leading advocates of the pluralist interpretation of community power structure, has been vigourously criticized for assuming that traditional pluralism exists if the revisionist model can be demonstrated. Throughout Who Governs? (1961) Dahl pursues a pluralist interpretation of New Haven politics, yet many of his own findings seem to contradict pluralist assumptions. For example: "in each of a number of key sectors of public policy, a few persons have great influence on the choices that are made; most citizens, by contrast, seem to have rather little direct influence" (Dahl 1961:101), "in origins, conception, and execution, it is not too much to say that urban development has been the direct product of a small handful of leaders" (p.115), "the bulk of the voters had virtually no direct influence on the process of nomination" (p.106), "a few people, the leaders, evidently exerted great direct influence on a series of decisions" (p.161), and "only a tiny group, the leaders, exerts great influence" (p.164). Yet, says Dahl (1961:100), "minority control by leaders within associations is not necessarily inconsistent with popular control". Popular control, he continues, is exercised upon leaders through the "indirect" means of the electoral process.

This reveals a fundamental problem of Dahl's analysis: "he demonstrates empirically that participation in political decision-making is limited to a minority, but he is unable to demonstrate similarly the indirect 'rank-and-file' influence which is said to be exerted through elections and the anticipated reaction mechanism which conditions leaders as they weigh decisional probabilities" (Presthus 1964:41). In being caught between the pluralist creed of popular consensus through mass involvement and his findings of minority dominance in decision-making, Dahl attempts to reconcile this conflict by adopting what Keynes (1970:53) calls a "plural elitist" stance. Essentially Dahl holds that pluralism exists despite elite control of decisions because the same elites do not dominate all decisional spheres -- there is competition between elites -- and that the masses indirectly influence decisions in exercising their voting rights. Obviously this revisionist notion of pluralism is substantially different from the traditional pluralism to which most pluralist researchers in community power structure adhere.

The 'plural elites' conception of community power contributed to the generation of a number of comparative studies which attempted to classify various types of community power structure along a continuum (see Miller 1958, Barth 1961, and Rossi 1960 among others). This continuum stretches from a very centralized monolithic system dominated by one or a few elite groups to more polylithic structures where the number of decision-making elite groups is larger. Also, the extent of citizen participation in decision-making usually varies along the continuum with the number of elite groups. These types of continua, hence, order communities in terms of their realization, however imperfect, of the revisionist model of pluralism. Communities with a greater number of competing elites and greater citizen involvement are said to be more pluralist than those with fewer elites and less participation. Despite these efforts to qualitatively differentiate the degree of pluralism within communities, the essential difficulty remains that the existence of greater numbers of elite groups is merely assumed to indicate a broader base of community participation. In any event, this assumption must be subjected to empirical validation before elite pluralism can be substitited for traditional pluralism.

In concluding this discussion, the pluralist paradigm views power as widely dispersed throughout the community, at least in the form of numerous competing elites whose power is issue-relevant and thus non-cumulative. The relative lack of citizen participation or direct influence in decisions results from a general consensus on the part of the masses and their appointed/elected leaders concerning the direction of community policy. As expected, this interpretation of local power relations is very much at odds with that of the Marxist inspired studies of community power structure.

The Marxist Paradigms

The two Marxist paradigms found in community power theory are a reflection of a broader theoretical debate in Marxist thought. This debate concerns the role of the state in advanced capitalist economies. Marxist views in this respect can be dichotomized into the "instrumentalist" and the "structuralist" perspectives (see Gold et al., 1975). Instrumentalists conceive government as a mere committee of the ruling class and as directly manipulated by the power elite or most active members of the class. Ralph Miliband is said to be the exemplar of this conception. Nicos Poulantzas, on the other hand, is seen as the most sophisticated contemporary exponent of the structuralist view. Structuralists such as Poulantzas accuse the instrumentalists of applying an overly crude, economistic Marxism which neglects the "relative autonomy" of government. Thus, structuralists are interested in discerning the underlying interrelationships between the economic and state institutional spheres. Before discussing the 'class hegemony' and 'structural Marxist' paradigms of community power structure an examination of this broader debate within Marxist theory is necessary.

In criticizing the pluralist view that competition between interest groups or elites ensures that power is diffused and balanced so that no particular group exercises undue influence upon the state, Miliband (1969) reaffirms Marx's claim in the Communist Manifesto that "the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx & Engels 1969:110-111). Miliband argues that despite extensive state intervention into the economy and a large professional-managerial "middle class", advanced, post-capitalist western societies remain essentially 'authentic' capitalist societies. That is, regardless of the transformations such economies have undergone, "the principal form assumed by the 'relations of production' in these countries is that between capitalist employers and industrial wage-earners" (Miliband 1969:16). Crompton and Gubbay (1977) agree, stating that, while there are significant numbers of individuals in "structurally ambiguous" class situations in modern capitalism, the primary axis of division in these societies remains that between capital and labour. Also, Baran and Sweezy (1966:40) state that "profits, even though not the ultimate goal, are the necessary means to all ultimate goals. As such, they become the immediate, unique, unifying, quantitative aim of corporate policies". In this way, the emergence of professional managers is not seen to weaken the goals (profit maximumization) and control of the capitalist class, nor is the growth of the 'middle class' seen to somehow prevent the essential contradictions between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

As for the pluralists' claim that government intervention in the economy encourages a balance between interests such that no group is able to control the state, Marxist instrumentalists view government intervention as a way of helping the capitalist enterprise. Hence, Miliband (1969:23) defines the ruling class as "that class which owns and controls the means of production and which is able, by virtue of economic power conferred upon it, to use the state as its instrument for the domination of society" (emphasis added). For instrumentalists, then, the relationship between the economically dominant class and the state is very close indeed, so much so that together they form an authentic 'ruling class'.

Challenging Miliband and other instrumentalists, Poulantzas (1973) accuses them of confusing the "relations of production" with the "social relations of production". He asserts that "social classes are the result of an ensemble of structures and of their relations, firstly at the economic level, secondly at the political level and thirdly at the 'ideological level' (Poulantzas 1973:63). Moreover, the two-class system holds only in the abstract, theoretical 'pure' mode of capitalist production (as in Capital) where the analysis only considers relations on the economic level. Thus, Poulantzas (1973:331) argues, instrumentalist Marxists erroneously conclude that the economically dominant class is also the politically dominant class. For him, the state is not merely an instrument of the dominant economic class but rather possesses its own unity and coherence as well as its own "relative autonomy". In effect, then, the economic, political, and ideological structures possess relative autonomy and as such impinge upon each other.

Miliband's (1977) rejoinder to the structuralist Marxist view is that the separation of economy, polity, and culture of society is artificial and arbitrary. Though he denies the charge of crude economism, Miliband reasserts the primacy of the economic base in Marxist analysis (1977:8-9). Furthermore, Miliband explains, Marx and Engel's idea of a "class for itself" attaches a political criterion to the notion of class. The notion of class, though, remains, in the first instance, economically defined. Consequently, any class analysis which posits a separation between economics and politics contradicts a fundamental principle in Marx's thought. In fact Miliband accuses Poulantzas of neglecting the weight of class struggle in history and of dealing in structuralist abstraction. Again, in reply, Poulantzas (1976:72) asserts that, indeed, "the (capitalist) state, in the long run, can only correspond to the political interests of the dominant class or classes". He argues, though, that in the short term, the capitalist class is dependent upon the state to provide coordination and discipline to sustain their class interests. Thus Poulantzas (1976:73) states:

> the relative autonomy of the capitalist State stems precisely from the contradictory relations of power between the different social classes. That it is, in the final analysis, a 'resultant' of the relations of power between classes within a capitalist formation -- it being perfectly clear that the capitalist State has its own institutional specificity (separation of the political and economic) which renders it irreducible to an immediate and direct expression of the strict 'economic-corporate' interests.

A result of this indirect and long term process by which capitalist interests are assured in the political realm, the actual interventions of the state into the economy may appear to be "chaotic and contradictory". Again, this is so because the particular interests of the capitalist class "emerge within the state administration 'unintentionally'. In this important sense, the capitalist state is not an 'instrument' but a 'structure'" (O'Connor 1973:69). The capitalist state, therefore, while not completely a rational self-directing institution, has a 'relative' autonomy which the instrumentalist conception of the state (i.e., as a passive tool in the hands of the ruling class) obscures.

What is the resolution of the Miliband-Poulantzas, instrumentalist-structuralist debate? There does not appear to have been significant progress towards any synthesis of these two approaches. In fact Poulantzas (1976:77) warns that efforts to invent a "third way" lying somewhere "in between" Miliband's instrumentalism and his own structuralist views are not likely to resolve the theoretical impasse that exists. It would appear, then, that one is justified in referring to these two Marxist approaches as separate paradigms.

In the field of community power structure G. William Domhoff is perhaps the best known and most active Marxist theorist and researcher. One of his latest works (Domhoff 1978a) is, as has been mentioned, a detailed study of the New Haven local power structure. This study falls under what Domhoff choses to call a "class-hegemony paradigm". In essence, the class-hegemony paradigm is the same as the instrumental paradigm described above. In the class-hegemony view, the "economic class" is one and the same as the highest "status group" and this "upper class ... is a ruling class with domination over the government" (Domhoff 1978b:7). This perspective on community power de-emphasizes the squabbles between narrow interest groups and organizational elites which so concern pluralists and some elite theorists, and concentrates upon class conflict and the framework of capitalist economic appropriation and cultural hegemony within which such conflict emerges.

Yet, despite the focus upon classes and their relationships which the class hegemony framework stresses, Domhoff's "emphasis is nonetheless on the ruling capitalist class, for it is the major initiator of action" (1978b:xiv). In this Domhoff comes dangerously close to slipping into an elite analysis in that, as Dahrendorf (1959) has noted, such exclusive focus on the ruling elite is in effect part of a "one-class" theory. Since a major assumption of Marxist analysis is that events are best understood as resulting from the conflict between opposing class interests, Domhoff and other instrumentalists who 'neglect' the role of the working classes risk perpetuating a static non-Marxist ruling elite theory. Isaac Balbus (1971:40), in criticizing the elite theory of Mills, Miliband's instrumentalism, and by extension the class-hegemony of Domhoff, feels that they have been forced, by their theoretical approaches, "to portray an essentially 'closed system' ... bereft of any structural sources for its own transformation".

Though these structuralist inspired critiques of Domhoff's analysis are penetrating, his response is that his empirical findings demonstrate that Poulantzas and other structuralist

Marxists are wrong in their belief that the state apparatus is somewhat autonomous from the dominant capitalist class (1978b: 122-123). Domhoff holds that he does not ignore the class struggle which takes place in capitalist society, but sees the state as directly involved in this ongoing struggle on behalf of the ruling elite and as an instrument of its domination. While it is true, nevertheless, that little analysis in the class-hegemony paradigm of community power structure deals with non-elites or the labouring class, this is because the process of ruling class domination excludes them from policy formation and general community governance. In any event, power should not be seen as 'process' in concrete decisions (i.e., Dahl's decisional definition of power) but is demonstrated by the outcomes of decisions, or 'who gets what' (i.e., as with Mills). Although leaders from other classes or social groups may indeed participate to a limited extent with the ruling class in local decisions, these 'non-propertied' citizens rarely if ever 'get what they want'. Thus Domhoff feels justified in emphasizing the power of the ruling class.

After defining his notion of the ruling class as "a clearly demarcated social class which has 'power' over the government (state apparatus) and underlying population", Domhoff's (1978b:12) study of New Haven reveals that this ruling class does in fact exist. It owns a disproportionate amount of wealth and income, has higher standing on all relevant social well-being scales, and controls social and economic institutions as well as dominating government. However, even though Domhoff (1967:3) feels that he can "demonstrate the fundamental fact that the American upper class is a governing class", he does agree that it is neither monolithic nor omnipotent. It has internal antagonisms and squabbles, but despite these, the upper class remains a relatively close knit class. Domhoff expands his class hegemony framework to include a "power elite" which he defines as "the leadership group or operating arm of the ruling class" (1978b:13). This power elite is composed of working members of the ruling class and their high level employees. It is the members of the power elite who dominate government and community decision-making on behalf of the ruling class.

The difference between Domhoff's power elite and that of Mills is that (1) Domhoff does not assume a priori that leaders within the corporate, military and governmental institutions are by definition a part of the power elite, as did Mills; and (2) Domhoff grounds his notion of the power elite in a social class, that is, the capitalist ruling class. Within the class hegemony paradigm the institutional hierarchies (military, corporate, and political) which Mills and other elite theorists saw as separate were united through their relation to the means of production and their efforts to maintain the perogatives of capital. Moreover, in the class hegemony paradigm of community power structure the social upper class of business owners and corporate managers dominate the crucial decisions made by the local political directorate (the military is usually of little consequence in local decision-making except in particular communities). Also, the members of the power elite are all drawn from or hired by the ruling class and work for its interests in general, not just the corporate, political, or military separately. There is no autonomy for the government to govern from within its own agencies and bureaucracies. Nor does the state apparatus function solely as a referee to simply mediate spats within the ruling class (e.g., perhaps between the military and corporate elites); it actively initiates policy on behalf of the ruling class and suppresses policies antithetical to the interests of that class.

In bringing together the notions of ruling class and power elite Domhoff claims to have bridged the sometimes separate or even opposing approaches of the class rule (i.e., ruling class model) and institutional elite (i.e., power elite model) perspectives on community power. Also, Domhoff feels that his class hegemony paradigm answers two major objections raised by critics of ruling class theory (see especially Polsby 1963; 1980): (1) that some members of the ruling class are not involved in community rule, and (2) that some community leaders are not members of the ruling class. Thus, Domhoff (1978b:15) explains:

> There always have been members of ruling classes who have spent much of their time playing polo, riding to hounds or leading a world-wide social life. A ruling class is a privileged social class which is able to maintain its top position in the social structure, and there is no implication that each and every member of this social class must be involved in ruling. ... At the same time, there always have been carefully groomed and carefully selected employees from lower social classes whose advancement to important positions has been dependent upon their ability to solve problems and attain goals that are determined by the needs and desires of the ruling class.
>
> However ... the power elite does not include labor leaders, even those appointed to government, for they are neither members of the social upper class nor employees of its institu-

> tions. ... Nor are leaders of minority group organizations. These examples are meant to emphasize that strata of the working class and specific social and ethnic groups have leaders too.

Therefore, that working class or other non-ruling class leaders participate with numerous institutional elites in community decision-making is not seen as evidence of pluralism. Nor is the fact that elites overwhelmingly 'win out' in the decision-making process seen as evidence of a static elite system. Rather, the class hegemony paradigm views these facts as evidence of the efforts of the ruling class to dominate the community and to suppress class conflict. This is so because the power elite, which is active in all aspects of community policy formation, dominates the entire process such that the ruling class benefits and is sustained through these policies. If the system was in fact static, the ruling class would not require a power elite to continuously control the proletariat and suppress class conflict. Clearly the class hegemony perspective on community power structure fits into the Marxian instrumentalist paradigm. It is more difficult, however, to find community power researchers who use the structural Marxist paradigm.

Though class hegemonists have shown that members of the ruling class are disproportionately directors of banks and corporations, and that top managers are assimilated into many of the social institutions of the ruling class (see Domhoff 1978b:19-21), structuralist Marxists (along with most pluralists) are not satisfied with these positional indicators of power. Underlying this dissatisfaction with the use of ruling class positional overrepresentation, the fundamental structuralist concern is with the mediating processes between the general interests of the ruling class and specific government actions (see Offe 1974).

In the extreme, for example, Poulantzas (1969) can conceive of situations where it is better for the capitalist class to have no members in government because they may be too divided among themselves and too short-sighted to effectively generate the appropriate long term, overall policies necessary for the prosperity of the capitalist system. The complexities of modern urban communities, it is said, are such that the crude economic determinism of the instrumentalist class hegemony paradigm is an oversimplified view of reality. In this criticism the structuralists share the views of some elite theorists, perhaps best expressed by Mills (1956:227n) in his famous footnote on Marxism:

> "Ruling class" is a badly loaded phrase. "Class" is an economic term; "rule" a political one. The phrase, "ruling class", thus contains the theory that an economic class rules politically. That short-cut theory may or may not at times be true, but we do not want to carry that one rather simple theory about in the terms that we use to define our problems; we wish to state the theories explicitly, using terms of more precise and unilateral meaning. Specifically, the phrase "ruling class", in its common political connotations, does not allow enough autonomy to the political order and its agents, ...

Thus, when studying community power structure two apexes of power are assumed, the economic and the political. As we have seen, structuralist Marxists such as Poulantzas maintain that though there is relative autonomy between the economy and the polity, and though the state apparatus reflects the contradictions between classes in its decisions, ultimately government functions to the benefit of the capitalists and the capitalist system. The relationship is seen to be one of symbiosis; the distribution of power within the polity affects the distribution of power within the economic domain, and vice versa. Policies in each are formulated in the light of each other, but in contemporary capitalist society priority is given to economic growth, the types of institutions developed to accomplish that growth, and the distribution of the rewards resulting from that growth. Hence, the commitment to achieve economic growth has resulted in an increase in the power of economic actors at the expense of political actors such that the exchange between the polity and economy is not truly bilateral (see Martin 1977). Nevertheless, the degree of unity between the major political and business power-holders in capitalist society that is posited by class hegemonists is seen by structural Marxists to be greatly exaggerated. So too is the degree of 'instrumental' corporate control over government exaggerated.

Thus the structuralist Marxian study of local power structures would not attempt to demonstrate the virtual unity of business and political interests and ruling class domination of community policy decisions, but rather would focus upon the process by which such policy decisions are the resolution of the myriad 'vectors' of the complex community social network. Most important of these vectors are those relating to the contradictions of class interests and the relationship between the economic and governmental spheres. In this respect, structuralists would likely approach the study of community power structures through a decisional methodology grounded in class theory which emphasized the processes of government and business intercourse.

Though there are at present no self-acclaimed structural Marxists working directly in the field of local community power structure, there is some interest among power structure researchers in the speculative work of the so-called "new urban political economy" which is being developed by what are often seen to be structural Marxists (see Walton 1979). Richard Hill (1977) and David Gordon (1978), for example, employ a neo-Marxist political economy in analyzing urban development in historical perspective as resulting from evolving forms of economic growth and capital accumulation. David Harvey (1975) and John Mollenkopf (1975) construe urban policies as political responses to the efforts of economic interests to sustain high rates of capital accumulation through the conversion of the city into a center of consumption. Harvey's (1976) analysis of community conflict in terms of industrial conflict shows a growing separation of these two spheres of class conflict, and that, as a result, the interests of labour and certain economic elites may well coincide under some circumstances. Harvey Molotch (1976) sets the metaphor of the urban community as a "growth machine" and enunciates a "political economy of place" (1979) in which local elites function as "rentiers" intermediate between national capital and local structures.

These types of studies, while not community power studies per se, do however have the potential for linkages with structural Marxist views on local power arrangements. The sensitivity that those researchers show for the contingencies and factors that influence the relations between urban governance and capital clearly parallel the theoretical propositions advanced by the structuralists concerning the relationships between state and economy. If the findings of these urban political economists were to be analyzed within the structural Marxist paradigm of community power structure the result might well prove illuminating.

In summary, there are no structural Marxist community power studies to which one can point as examplary. Yet one can envisage such an approach as emphasizing the study of local decisional power, taking into consideration particular socio-historical community circumstances, and focusing upon the nature of the relations between the economy and the polity. Of crucial importance in this, as well as the class hegemony view of local community power structure, is the relationship between the locality and capital in general -- that is, between the local community and the national context.

Community Power in National Context

Though Marxist theorists in general have been most concerned with placing community power in national context they are by no means the only or the first to analyze broader exogenous influences on community decision-making. Others have typified modern society as a "mass society" whose citizens are seen as a powerless, unorganized aggregate of atomistic individuals (see Shils 1962). This aggregate forms a mass audience which passively receives common stimuli. This mass society perspective represents a shift from a micro local emphasis to a power structure model which emphasizes the macro national context. For example, Vidich and Bensman (1968) in their study of the town of 'Springdale' found that policies directly affecting the town were made by outside agencies and organizations over which the local community had little or no control. Moreover, these policies were not even addressed to the community as a particular entity but to it as one of many similar communities which fell into general categories.

Elite dominance of a powerless mass is not the only conclusion that the mass society model has been used to support. Walton (1968, 1971), for example, uses the term "horizontal axis" to refer to the connections between community organizations, and the term "vertical axis" to refer to the connections between community organizations and extra-community centers of power. Walton sees the "great change" in North American communities as the increase of the latter type of connections at the cost of the former. Thus, in modern societies local communities are not only increasingly under the control of exogenous forces, their internal normative order is seen to be fragmented by the weakening of connections along the horizontal axis. Walton concludes that the notion of 'community power structure' suffers from a misplaced concreteness, and that most communities are, if anything, pluralist in nature. This is so because (Walton 1971:194) "to the extent that the local community becomes increasingly inter-dependent with respect to extra-community institutions (or develops along its vertical axis) the structure of local leadership becomes more competitive". The theoretical principle advanced is that a number of vertical sources of power are introduced into the local community, thus disrupting the existing normative order and creating new circumstances conducive to the emergence of competing power centers. In other words, an increase in vertical ties increases the 'slackness' of the local system.

This type of plural elite analysis (i.e., increased competition among increased numbers of power centers), however, does not place the community elites squarely in the community power structure but more often locates powerful coalitions in extra-community power centers (see Pellegrin & Coates 1956; Schulze 1958). These centers of power may be in provincial or federal agencies, large scale private corporations, or other extra-community systems (see Sjoberg 1955 for an early non-Marxist evaluation of the relationship between the local community and extra-community power centers).

Notwithstanding the above, it is the Marxist paradigms which are most concerned with the effects of extra-community power. Domhoff (1978a:151), in criticizing both the elite and pluralist schools of community power structure for their relative neglect of the national power configuration, states that "community power structures cannot be understood unless studied in relation to national power". Accordingly, consideration must be made not only to the ties between municipal, state/provincial and federal levels of government, but also to the linkages between the distribution of power within the local community and the national ruling class, large corporations, and urban policy-planning institutions (Domhoff 1978a). Moreover, modern multinational corporations are seen to have more power to penetrate the lives of ordinary citizens than do even nation states or municipal governments (Braungart 1978). In addition, policy-planning groups (e.g., the Committee for Economic Development in the U.S.A.) which represent the "biggest of the big business" rather than the "run-of-the-mill multimilliondollar companies" are said to have great impact on government, the national power structure, and local communities (Domhoff 1978b: 120-122). Thus, multinational corporations, extending beyond national boundaries are increasingly becoming factors of relevance to studies at the community level. To date, however, the most articulated attempts to bring a macro perspective to community power structure research extend only to the national level. The clearest of these attempts is Domhoff's re-examination of New Haven (1978a).

Domhoff (1978a:153-157), in his class hegemony paradigm, conceives of a "national ruling class" which (1) is a social upper class nation-wide in scope, (2) provides basic leadership for top financial institutions and corporations, (3) is the major repository of corporate legal advice, and (4) dominates government and public debate through a variety of policy-planning organizations. There is, according to Domhoff, sufficient "overlap" between local social and economic notables with the national upper class such that the locals are in fact a "local branch" of the national ruling class (1978a:158). Just as the 'active' members of the national ruling class form the 'power elite' the active members of its local branch form a local or secondary branch of the power elite. These ruling class members operate not merely through business organizations but in a variety of civic organizations important in shaping local public opinion -- community foundations, taxpayers' associations, charitable organizations, service groups, and cultural groups (Domhoff 1978a:172). Through its domination of these organizations the local power elite serves the local branch of the ruling class and, by extention, the national ruling class (to which the local branch is intimately connected).

However, in communities with few "overlaps" between local socio-economic notables and the national upper class, Domhoff (1978a:159) concedes that "it might be more appropriate to talk of a 'local upper class' rather than of a 'local branch' of the national upper class". This somewhat more autonomous 'local upper class' would be able to exercise control over local policy-making processes without necessarily serving the interests of the national ruling class. Yet this apparent local autonomy is generally restricted to decisions which do not affect the interests of the national power elite (Domhoff 1968:277). Moreover, when important issues do arise the national ruling class can, and does, create ad hoc associations (Domhoff 1978a:172-173) which the power elite can use to override the influence of a 'local upper class'. Ultimately, then, the national upper class can exercise its rule at the local community level through its local branch, or through issue-specific ad hoc associations if overlaps with the local ruling class network are insufficient.

In conclusion, perhaps the most significant contribution of the class hegemony view of community power is its insistence that local structures are so inextricably enmeshed within the national power structure that the study of the former without the latter is untenable.

Conclusion

At this point one would hope that the foregoing discussion of community power structure paradigms would merely be a heuristic prolegomenon to the creation of a synthetic model combining the best elements of each paradigm in a novel and insightful confluence. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Each paradigm claims to be a truly general description and explanation of community power relations at all levels of analysis. Substantively though, the elite reputational model of Hunter deals with power on a private, economically based individual level, other elite theorists examine organizational levels of power, many pluralists analyse power at the level of governmental decision-making, class hegemonists conceive of power at the class level, while structural Marxists are concerned with the relations of power at the institutional level in capitalist society.

If within each of these so-called 'levels' of community power structure the internal relations are not completely constrained by their relations with other levels, then the paradigms may be "additive" (Alford 1975). That is to say, each paradigm could be used to analyze separate levels of the community power structure, and then simply 'added up', the sum of which would comprise a complete analysis of the entire scope of the community power structure. On the other hand, if changes within one level result in changes in its relation with other levels and/or the internal relations of other levels, the paradigms can be said to be non-additive. Ultimately, if one holds that a paradigm is indeed a genuine weltanschauung (i.e., not restricted to one 'level' of analysis) and that a change of paradigms requires a "gestalt shift" (Kuhn 1962), then paradigms logically cannot be "additive" in any sense. The following examples (after Alford 1975:155) will serve to clarify this point:

> (1) If pluralist theory is a valid paradigm of community power and not just a set of rules for the analysis of specific political decisions, then other 'levels' such as organizational and class power are really temporary coalitions of diverse groups and individuals held together by fragile consensus, or conversely,
>
> (2) if the class hegemony approach is a valid paradigm of community power, then any apparent diversity of individual and special interest groups merely conceals the underlying logic of the social divisions based upon the capitalist division of labour, and in fact, the surface diversity and complexity may be highly functional in legitimating and reproducing existing class relations.

It is assumed in either case above that the internal relations at one level are affected by the relations between other levels and vice versa. Again, for example, the primacy assigned to the economic and political bases of power in the class hegemony and pluralist paradigms respectively does not restrict analysis in each to those particular societal spheres, but provides the basis from which the entire nexus of community power relations can be analyzed. Any attempt to juxtapose or 'add' the two paradigms together would result in profound conceptual and methodological incongruencies and the emasculation of the explanatory/predictive power of each.

This is not to say, however, that the paradigms of community power structure as they presently exist are complete and entirely mutually exclusive with regards to their constituent elements. Some elements of one paradigm may be 'borrowed' and profitably used within another paradigm, but only insofar as those elements are not antithetical to the underlying ideological framework of the 'host' paradigm. Such borrowing does not constitute a gestalt shift, nor does it involve the negation of either the 'donor' or the 'host' paradigm. Within the structural Marxist paradigm, for example, a community power theorist may borrow the pluralist notion of decisional, issue-relevant power and apply it to an analysis of the process of government-private sector interaction. In doing so, however, one is not abnegating the theoretical tenets of the structural Marxist paradigm; nor is one accepting those of the pluralist paradigm. The theorist is merely making use of a conceptual construct of broad analytical utility.

It would appear, then, that the field of community power structure may be rightfully described as multi-paradigmatic. There is no clear 'normal science' unifying a community of scholars. Yet this lack of consensus is not evidence of a lack of holistic theoretical approaches to the study of community power structure. Those approaches that have been identified earlier in this chapter -- the pluralist, elite, class hegemonist, and structural Marxist-- are sufficiently developed (except perhaps the structural Marxist) that they can be said to constitute valid paradigms. Hence, while there is no one 'true' or most highly advanced paradigm of community power structure to guide us, neither is there an unfathomable conceptual quagmire or an unmanageable methodological morass. There are limits to what can be done; one cannot arbitrarily jump from paradigm to paradigm when it seems convenient to do so. Some 'borrowing' of theoretical/methodological elements may be carried out as well, but one must choose between paradigms if one is to assume a coherent analytical stance.

Nevertheless, the extensive paradigmatic competition within the field of community power structure makes it ripe for revolutionary "paradigm-testing". As Kuhn (1962:145) points out, this paradigm-testing "never consists, as puzzle-solving does, simply in the comparison of a single paradigm with nature. Instead, testing occurs as part of the competition between two (or more) rival paradigms". The study that follows, then, is less of a community power structure study per se than it is a vehicle for the testing of the paradigms of community power structure. No attempt will be made to 'add' the paradigms together, to find some elusive 'middle ground', or to select the 'best' of each of the paradigms. Rather, elements will be garnered from all of the paradigms and selectively applied when they appear to "fit the facts better" and when the "incommensurability" of these elements is minimal. As many of the elements of the various paradigms are distinctly at cross-purposes the testing of paradigms is indeed difficult. Yet, this testing, in Kuhn's sense, necessarily entails the comparison of competing paradigms and although the resolution of conflicting paradigms is revolutionary, the new emergent paradigm still makes use of traditional elements of the preceding paradigms, albeit in a novel way. Thus, according to Kuhn (1962:149):

> Since new paradigms are born from old ones, they ordinarily incorporate much of the vocabulary and apparatus, both conceptual and manipulative, that the traditional paradigm(s) had previously employed. But they seldom employ these borrowed elements in quite the traditional way. Within the new paradigm, old terms, concepts, and experiments fall into new relationships one with the other.

Consequently, in the analysis that follows, no individual paradigm will be forced upon the data and an effort will be made to employ 'borrowed elements' in novel ways. This study is not taken up within an established paradigm, but rather draws upon four competing paradigms. In the testing of these paradigms against the data and against each other, it is hoped that some insights can be made into the data at hand, and that some contribution may be made to the creation of a new paradigm which will supplant those that presently exist.

The next two chapters will present the data gathered on the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. In an effort to present the data as clearly as possible, no analysis is to be carried out in these chapters. As a result, they are mainly descriptive in nature and serve to provide the empirical basis upon which later analytical chapters are grounded.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM IN EDMONTON SCHOOLS

Introduction

In this chapter a descriptive 'natural history' of the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program will be presented. As stated in the opening chapter, document analysis and extensive informant interviews were the major modes of data collection employed. In all, ten interviews were held with persons prominent in the initial stages leading up to the development of the program. Interviews lasted from a minimum of about 45 minutes to over two hours. Each was held in private and all informants were promised confidentiality. Consequently, to ensure this confidentiality, no direct references will be made to any informant by name and quotations will remain anonymous. Essentially, informants were asked to tell their part of the 'story' to the best of their recollection. Interview schedules were sparse, containing a few key questions, and the interviews were open-ended. This approach worked very well in that all the informants turned out to be articulate and willing raconteurs. In addition, all informants were intimate with at least some aspect of the program's development and provided much rich detail.

The sampling procedure for all formal interview subjects was quite simple; obvious persons in prominent roles were selected. Initially three of the most active and influential members of the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club of Edmonton's Multicultural Committee were chosen for interviews. These three maintained their membership in the Multicultural Committee throughout the initial stages of the program's development and provided its leadership. Two are prominent Edmonton lawyers and one is a professor at the University of Alberta. On the provincial government side, the Social Credit premier and his minister of education up to their defeat in 1971 were interviewed. The ministers of education, advanced education, and of youth, culture and recreation of the succeeding Progressive Conservative government were selected for interview. Dealings between the Multicultural Committee of the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club (U.P.B.C.) and the government were carried on most directly with the minister of education and the minister responsible for culture. The minister of advanced education was an important informant because he was a part of the cabinet committee on education which dealt with the bilingual program, and also a close personal friend of one of the leaders of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee. Finally, the superintendents of the Edmonton Public School Board and the Edmonton Catholic School System during the period beginning in 1971 and ending with the opening of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in September of 1974 were interviewed to find out the two boards' roles and perspectives on the development of the program.

Although other members of the Ukrainian community, the government, or the school boards could have been interviewed, it was felt that the information that the ten initial interviews provided, along with the accompanying document analysis, was sufficient to properly tell the story. Also, the information provided by informants showed a high degree of collaboration and was further supported by document analysis. A large number of documents were supplied by the members of the Multicultural Committee. These documents included briefs and submissions made to the provincial government, personal correspondences between government and committee members, minutes of meetings, texts of speeches and addresses, formal policy statements, news letters concerning the program, etc. Some other documents were obtained from the government and boards (policy statements, texts of speeches, program descriptions, etc.), and several mimeographed manuscripts and newspaper articles were also used. In total, it seemed that more than adequate material was accumulated for the task at hand.

In presenting the data below, no detailed analysis from the perspective of community power structure theory will be attempted. This will be held off until a later chapter. The rationale for this is to present the data in its 'raw' form, unadorned by interpretive theoretical asides and inferences. A most crucial aspect of any sociological study is the clear unobstructed presentation of the data. Although it is impossible to give a completely "value free" (see Gouldner 1970) account of any social phenomenon, every effort will be made to recount the story of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in the words of those involved. It is in this spirit that the following narrative is presented. A brief historical account of the Ukrainians and their education in Alberta will precede the data generated from the interviews and document analysis.

Ukrainian Immigration and Education in Alberta

Ukrainian immigration to Canada occurred in three distinct phases: the first began in the 1880's and ended with the outbreak of W.W.I; the second occurred between the first and second world wars and peaked in 1929; and the third wave of immigration came shortly after W.W.II (Kaye 1965).

Between 1880 and 1914 a great tide of immigration from Europe to the Americas took place. This vast movement was precipitated by the collapse of social structures throughout Europe, the rapid transformation of agricultural and industrial modes of production, and a concomitant increase in population. In the Ukraine, over-population, excessive land subdivision, hopeless economic conditions and political, national and religious persecution prompted large numbers to emigrate. The minister of the interior for the Liberal government of the time, Clifford Sifton, launched an attractive program "to settle the empty West with producing farmers" (quoted in Palmer 1975:7). The first wave of Ukrainian settlement in the prairies was hence composed of poorly educated peasants who, because of their own agricultural background, were attracted by Sifton's offer of 160 acres of land. These immigrants were primarily motivated by their desire for a secure economic future and nearly all intended to remain permanently in their new land. Statistics for the number of Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada during this period (estimated at about 170,000) are not reliable. Since there was no Ukrainian state at the time many had their ethnic origin recorded as Austrian or Russian, while many others were generally referred to as 'Galicians' or "Ruthenian'.

One of the goals of education in Alberta in the last decade of the 19th century, then still a part of the North West Territories, was to assimilate and Canadianize the immigrant population. The superintendent of schools during that period, A.J. Goggin, set policies that included the hiring of teachers whose sole language was English for foreign settlement schools and an insistence on properly certified teachers for all schools (see MacDonald 1974). When Alberta received provincial status in 1905, the government appointed a number of school inspectors to investigate the schools of the new province. Schools in foreign block settlements were quickly identified as being inadequate. Many of these settlements had no schools at all, most had poor teachers, and non-attendance was rampant. In order to alleviate these deficiencies, the Alberta School Regulation was amended in 1911 to allow any board to "employ one or more competent persons to instruct the pupil~~s~~ attending school in any language other than English" (cited in Jaenen 1979:51). The Ukrainian population of Alberta strongly favoured this regulation and soon, in block settlements such as Mundare and Wostok, teachers of Ukrainian ancestry, predominantly from Saskatchewan and Manitoba, were recruited to teach students in the 'Ruthenian' language for at least part of the day. Thus bilingual English-Ukrainian schooling was started in Alberta in the early 1900's.

Yet in 1913 the supervisor of foreign schools condemned the "would-be" teachers from Saskatchewan and Manitoba for their use of the Ruthenian language in the classroom. J.R. Boyle, then minister of education, declared in a public address that "English is the language of this country and it will be the language of the schools" (cited in Jaenan 1979:55). Despite protests by Ukrainian communities the Department of Education ruled that only properly qualified teachers were allowed to teach in Alberta schools, and nearly all of the province's Ukrainian teachers had their teaching permits cancelled. The brief experiment in bilingual education was over.

The second influx of Ukrainian immigrants to the Canadian West was motivated by reasons similar to the first (economic and political), but these immigrants (most arriving during the 1920's) tended to be more highly educated and technologically skilled (largely a result of their participation in the war). Most of these immigrants sought skilled work in urban centers or accepted agricultural work only as a temporary situation (Woycenko 1967). A majority of these more 'nationalistic' immigrants looked upon the prewar settlers as 'too Canadianized' and were not planning to remain in Canada. The rise and fall of the independent Ukrainian State, 1917-1921, had developed a deep national consciousness and sense of identity in these persons, and most were prepared to return to their homeland when conditions permitted (Kaye 1965). In efforts to preserve their ideologies and maintain their national identity these Ukrainians published their own periodicals and newspapers and formed nationalist organizations. For instance, in 1940 the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, a 'representative' national organization, was organized across Canada. Despite these efforts, little attempt was made to resurrect bilingual schools in the prairies.

The third phase of immigration to Canada came after the second World War. These postwar immigrants, predominantly from Eastern and Central Europe, were refugees, political emigres, or former soldiers who had strong nationalistic feelings for their motherlands. Assimilation did not readily follow for the Ukrainian immigrants from this last wave for they tended to reaffirm and strengthen a sense of ethnic identity in the existing Ukrainian communities in Alberta and throughout Canada. Further, most of the post-W.W.II Ukrainian immigrants to the prairies came from urban centers and were generally well-educated people with professional training, artistic talents, and linguistic skills, along with experience in business, government, the military, or a skilled trade (Palmer 1975). As of the 1961 census, there were over 100,000 persons of Ukrainian descent living in Alberta. More recent figures (O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska 1976) indicate that nearly 50,000 Ukrainians live in the city of Edmonton alone.

In the late 1950's Alberta Premier E.C. Manning, acting upon the sentiments of the Ukrainian community, introduced a regulation allowing the Ukrainian language as a subject of study for up to one hour per day in secondary schools where there was sufficient demand. Among the Ukrainian community groups that petitioned the government was the School Committee of the Edmonton branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (U.C.C.). An active member of this group would later chair the first U.C.C. Committee on Multiculturalism which presented a key brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1964 (for a review of the efforts to establish Ukrainian as a course of study at all levels of education during the fifties and early sixties, see Savaryn 1973). Though this regulation came into effect in 1959, extending "the provisions and status now accorded French" to other languages (Government of Alberta 1959:186), as of 1970-71 Ukrainian was taught in only one high school in each of the public and Catholic systems in Edmonton.

During this period a number of 'private ethnic' schools were maintained by parish churches and other organizations. These schools operated after regular school hours and on Saturdays, teaching the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian history, geography, the history of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, religion, Ukrainian literature, dancing, handicrafts, and customs. The tide was beginning to turn, though, and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (R.C.B.B.), which started its work in 1963, served as a sounding board for the feelings of discontent and alienation among ethnic groups from coast to coast.

In 1964 the Edmonton branch of the U.C.C. set up a committee to prepare a brief to the R.C.B.B. The brief was endorsed by many Ukrainian organizations in the Edmonton area, including the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club. Although the brief dealt with Ukrainian language and culture in only general terms, it did make some specific references to education. The brief claimed that some increase in Ukrainian language use had taken place in the Alberta Ukrainian community during the late 1950's and early 1960's, and attributed this increase to the expansion of private ethnic schools and the introduction of Ukrainian as an elective subject in some high schools in the province. On the other hand, it also claimed that the absence of Ukrainian from the elementary school curricula and the limited number of high schools offering Ukrainian were factors which were seriously impeding this trend. Consequently, the brief argued that "instruction in the Ukrainian language must not be left exclusively to the private efforts of the Ukrainian ethnic group ...; Ukrainian should be integrated as an accredited subject into the existing public and separate schools ... from the earliest grades..." (Ukrainian Canadian Committee 1964).

In Alberta there was some hope that such recommendations would be favourably received. Former Premier Manning's White Paper on Human Resources Development, issued in 1967, regarded "the variety of languages, cultural backgrounds, and interests, found among the people of Alberta as a valuable asset", and endorsed a "'mosaic' approach which permits individuals and groups to retain distinctive characteristics". A few years later, in 1969, the fourth volume of the R.C.B.B. report, entitled The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups, made the following recommendation: where there was 'sufficient' demand, "the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school programme" (p.141). The stage was set, then, for the push towards the introduction of the Ukrainian language and culture into the Edmonton school systems.

The Development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program

Changing the School Act

In December of 1970 a brief was presented to the Alberta Commission on Educational Planning (Worth Commission) by the Ukrainian Language Association of the Alberta Teachers' Association. This group was started in 1963 to attempt, among other things, to encourage students to register for Ukrainian courses in the high schools and to work to get these courses recognized as matriculation subjects (i.e., for university entrance). Though officially the brief was merely 'endorsed in principle' by the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club (U.P.B.C.) of Edmonton and the Edmonton Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (U.C.C.), these groups were actually its main instigators. This brief was very similar to the one presented to the R.C.B.B. by the Multicultural Committee of the U.C.C. in 1964. In fact, one of its members who appeared before the R.C.B.B.'s Edmonton hearing, a faculty of education professor of Ukrainian descent at the University of Alberta, prepared much of both the earlier brief and the one presented to the Worth Commission. The latter brief's recommendations included the following: "that the study of Ukrainian be introduced in Grade I and continue through Grade XII for up to one hour per day ...[and] that additional combined courses in the literature and history of the Ukrainian people be available" (Ukrainian Language Association 1970:17). Although no action directly resulted from this brief the professor felt that it was "a very important document because it got a lot of people involved".

Immediately following the presentation of this brief, the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club (U.P.B.C.) of Edmonton established a so-called Committee on Multiculturalism. The committee was formed to develop answers to questions such as the following (Lupul and Savaryn 1974:18):

> How could the Club help to obtain a meaningful response from the federal and western Canadian provincial governments to the recommendations made in Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism? What in particular could Canadian-born Ukrainians, especially the younger members, do to bring about the opportunities opened up by Book IV?

In light of his experience and interest, a prominent Edmonton lawyer of Ukrainian descent, who had acted as chairman of the committee which had presented the original U.C.C. brief to the R.C.B.B. in 1964, was called upon by the U.P.B.C. to chair the new committee. Another lawyer, a recently elected City of Edmonton alderman, was named secretary of this newly formed Multicultural Committee. This lawyer discovered, in reading the School Act, that the 1970 package of revisions to the act had omitted all previous references to the study of languages other than English and French. As a result, on April 14, 1971 the committee presented a brief entitled "The Ukrainians, The New Canadian Constitution, The Laws of Alberta and the Policies of the Government of Alberta" to the provincial government at a meeting with the premier, the attorney general, the minister of education, and the minister of culture, youth and recreation. Again, the education professor edited this brief and it was endorsed by both Ukrainian Bishops (Orthodox and Catholic) as well as the Edmonton Branch of the U.C.C.

This brief specifically recommended that the government of Alberta amend the School Act "to make the Ukrainian language a course of study in the schools of the Province where there is a demand for it" (U.P.B.C. 1971:6). The proponents of the brief hoped that the Ukrainian language could be studied in grades one to twelve for "at least" one hour a day. Moreover, they felt that the revisions of the previous year had "watered down" whatever authority had existed for the study of Ukrainian (e.g., as established in 1959). They feared that under this new legislation "Ukrainian may well be subjected to the whim and prejudices of administrators, local school authorities and community pressures" (U.P.B.C. 1971:7).

At this point one may well wonder why the gentlemen of the U.P.B.C. took this task upon themselves. Before Book IV of the R.C.B.B. was tabled in the Commons in 1969, "there was already agitation from the Ukrainian-Canadian University Students Union (U.C.U.S.U.) over Books I, II, and III". The education professor of Ukrainian descent was asked to present a paper in Winnipeg to the U.C.U.S.U. in 1970. At this conference he was "hooked". The national director of the U.C.C. was at the Winnipeg conference and invited the professor to speak at the Manitoba MOSAIC Conference in October of 1970. This was "the first multicultural conference called by a provincial government" and its aim was to "provide a forum where the different cultural groups in the province could express their views on measures needed to nourish and sustain their linguistic and cultural heritage". Thus the professor, previously a "non-active member" of the U.P.B.C., was thrust into a leadership role.

He decided to call a meeting in the Faculty of Education building of what he considered the "better educated, Canadian born, fairly well-heeled individuals" of the U.P.B.C. He explained to them that though the R.C.B.B. Book IV was "like a Magna Carta for ethno-cultural minorities in Canada" there was still no multicultural policy either federally or provincially, and that "if anything was forthcoming, it would have to be done now. If they wanted something [to be done] they had better stand up now". The professor felt that the U.P.B.C. was the best group to get something done in the area of Ukrainian education programs because "amongst them were some of those who would be sending their children to the schools, and those who did not have children to send, had money to give". He assumed that "if they [the members of the U.P.B.C.] did not see any value in promoting the Ukrainian language, then you could forget it". The U.P.B.C. members were very supportive of multiculturalism and interest "spread very rapidly". At that time, however, he felt that "it was not so important to get great numbers of organizations behind us. The main thing was to sit down and think through what we wanted".

At that meeting the lawyer-alderman (a rising executive of the U.P.B.C. at the time) was "turned on" by the address given by the education professor. He explained:

> Up until that time it was my belief that culture could be maintained like the Irish maintained their culture; it didn't matter whether you retained your language or not. The address very much impressed me and I said to myself, "He's right, language is more important to the preservation of our culture than it is for others, and maybe something ought to be done to preserve it".

According to this informant the address had a "great impact" on the membership of the U.P.B.C. and it became "more conscious of its responsibilities to the community". It was agreed that "the U.C.C. was not performing these tasks, and therefore we had to do it. And so the Multicultural Committee was agreed upon". Furthermore, he explained that the U.P.B.C. "had the social resources, the academic resources, the political resources, and thus quickly found themselves in a position of leadership". The chairman of the Multicultural Committee (the lawyer who had first worked on the brief to the R.C.B.B. in 1964) felt that it was "natural" for the U.P.B.C. to take charge of things because they were "the leaders of the community" and had the time, experience, and influence to get the job done.

The professor concurred with these assessments and suggested that "at that juncture it was best if the traditional Ukrainian Canadian Committee did not take up the lead because they were not sufficiently aware of the kinds of methods that would be best to use in approaching the school boards, the Department of Education and so on". The members of the U.C.C. were "primarily" from the last wave of immigration and it was felt that, though they could manage "internal" affairs very nicely, it would be best if the U.P.B.C. took up this matter of "external" affairs. The Multicultural Committee of the U.P.B.C. was "working under the umbrella of the U.C.C.", but it would do the "leg work, the writing and the talking as a committee on behalf of the U.P.B.C., yet always within the framework of the U.C.C.". This committee, according to the professor, "was simply a stop gap measure to fill an important need at a crucial time".

The Multicultural Committee did indeed fill the gap. It acted quickly and with purpose:

> We decided that because of the times, the R.C.B.B. Book IV, we would have to act quickly, unilaterally through the most effective spokesmen we could find. Articulate, professional help was what was needed. Then, after having been given some fairly positive response, take proposals to the community, instead of the other way around. So the brief of April 14, 1971 that was presented to the government was endorsed by various groups, but the real work was done by the committee, and there was no presentation of the brief to anybody, even the U.C.C. executive, because we knew that the kind of things which we were advancing would not be opposed, they were traditional concerns.

At that time it was not specifically stated in the brief that Ukrainian should be used as a language of instruction. The committee was cautious on this issue because "at that time it was heresy to think of Ukrainian as a language of instruction, nobody had put this forward, even the French had barely won this on a voluntary basis as numbers warranted, and at the discretion of the school boards". But when the committee met with the members of the Social Credit cabinet, it was made clear that it would be ideal if the government would amend the school act to give the Ukrainian community "the same thing with respect to language as the French have". The alderman-lawyer, then secretary of the Multicultural Committee, described the meeting in detail:

> When we met the premier we felt he was approachable, human. But there were subtle pressures working on him from his own party and the Lougheed threat was looming. The temper of the times was such that we walked in at the right time. When we went to that cabinet meeting I was unhappy with the way the minister of culture assisted us. He was a Ukrainian cabinet minister who was sympathetic

> outside the room, but wasn't very sympathetic inside. The minister of education was very receptive to the things that I had written about the School Act. It was patently obvious that the previous school acts discriminated against those who wanted to learn second languages, including French. Everything was starting to build up, discussion of multiculturalism, pressure from ethnic groups, all of these things made the premier receptive, plus that humanness. The minister of education was young but he was eager to please. It was the most extraordinary meeting because instead of the ministers saying, "We'll take the brief under advisement and let you know", the premier simply said to the minister of education, "Can it be done?" The minister of education said, "Yes, it can, and it can be done very quickly". Then the premier said, "Get it done".

Meanwhile, in an uncoordinated move, the U.C.C.'s Edmonton branch had invited the premier to speak on the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary and the eightieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. This speech was given on April 24, 1971, less than two weeks after the previous meeting. In this speech the premier announced that a "major new cultural policy for Alberta is being developed, under the aegis of the new Department of Youth, Culture and Recreation", and promised a full-scale conference to develop this policy. In referring to the recent meeting with the U.P.B.C. the premier stated the following (Strom 1971a:13-14):

> Last week, a brief was submitted to the government of Alberta on 'The Ukrainians, the New Constitution, the Laws of Alberta and the Policies of the Government of Alberta'. It was prepared and presented to the government by the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club of Edmonton ... This is an important document containing many vital matters, which are worthy of consideration. As far as my government is concerned, we shall try to implement as many of its recommendations as possible.

The premier, however, decided to go beyond the recommendations of the brief, which called for "at least one hour per day" of

Ukrainian, and promised to grant "equal rights to languages with French". Accordingly the government had already planned to introduce amendments to the School Act which stated, in part, that "any board will be able to authorize, for all, or any of its schools, instruction in a language, other than English, all but one hour of the day for grades one and two, and all but one-half hour for grades three through twelve" (Strom 1971a:8). The actual amendments to the "French Language Regulations" which followed provided no new additional regulations with respect to languages other than French. The law reads as follows (The School Act, Chapter 329, paragraph 150):

> (1) A board may authorize
>
> (a) that French be used as a language of instruction, or
>
> (b) that any other languages be used as a language of instruction
>
> in addition to the English language, in all or any of its schools.

The Ukrainians have simply assumed, then, that 'other' languages have the same status as the French language in Alberta schools (Lupul 1976:4). The promised "Multicultural Conference" was held on July 16, 1971, and a "New Cultural Policy for the Province of Alberta" was enunciated. The professor of education and member of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee helped, at the government's request, to formulate some of this policy. The new policy proposed to give the study of minority ethnic languages a "living" base (Strom 1971b:5):

> Hence, it is desirable that specific topics in social studies, literature, and the fine arts be

> taught in the language being studied. Consistent therefore with the recent amendment to The School Act, separate or combined courses in the history and literature of a particular ethno-cultural group in Canada, or courses in the arts and customs of that particular group, could be developed and taught in the language of the group.

Much had been accomplished in a short space of time: on April 16, 1971, the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee presented the brief to the government; on April 24th the premier spoke to the U.C.C.; and by July 16, 1971 the School Act already been amended and a new cultural policy, endorsing ethnic 'cultural subjects' for public schools, was announced. As we have seen, however, much ground work had been done by the U.P.B.C. and the U.C.C. in the preceding years. That their labours should have come to fruition at that precise time was due to a number of factors. First among these factors was the attitude of the Social Credit premier.

The premier at that time felt that it was "good" to know other languages. He "felt that if you really meant business about language, the schools were the place to do it. That's one of the reasons why we said, 'Sure, we'll permit languages to be taught to those who wanted it'". To him, the reason for extending the French language regulations to other languages instead of merely setting aside an hour or less for 'third' language instruction was simple: "The whole basis of it is to teach a language, and the way you teach it is to put it to use, not just taught for an hour". Beyond his own support of language learning, the premier felt that his predecessor's White Paper on Human Resources Development (Manning 1967) had "a lot to do" with the change in the School

Act. He felt that, because of the impact of the White Paper, the Ukrainians had "the feeling that this would be the time" to present their demands. Also, in his own caucus and cabinet the White Paper, "more than the presentations of 1970 and 1971", was the "impetus" to spur government members to support the teaching of ethnic languages and culture in the public school system. On this he stated, "I think we took the initiative when we introduced the policy of multiculturalism, not the ethnic groups".

Though the premier had met with representatives of the Ukrainian and other ethnic communities formally and informally prior to 1971 to discuss multiculturalism, he remembers that "the trend of the times, the climate, was ripe for making these changes [to the School Act, etc.], ... that will explain our haste. The pressure came at a time when the government was very much inclined to move in that direction".

Also at that time, June 1971, a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons was holding hearings in Edmonton on the constitution. The U.P.B.C. made a well-received presentation on multiculturalism to the committee. The fourth book of the R.C.B.B. had been tabled and the prime minister's policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' was to be announced shortly. There was, then, at least indirect influence exerted on the provincial government from the federal government to act on the issue of multiculturalism. The premier stated that there was "considerable pressure" by the federal government to get the French language recognized at the provincial level in the areas of government services and education. The minister of education felt that the arguments of the Ukrainian and other ethnic communities were "political" in nature, a part of a "backlash against the use of French across Canada which sparked the presentation of the U.P.B.C. [in April 1971] and others". On the other hand, a member of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee stated that "our position at that time was to defend the position of the Francophones. We hoped that there would be a natural progression to other ethno-cultural groups from that point".

The changes to the School Act and the new cultural policy were seen by one member of the Multicultural Committee as definitely politically motivated:

> The government was on its last legs in April of 1971, the election was called for August 30th of that year. The new cultural policy for the province, which came out in July, was being done with an eye to the election. It was an inexpensive attempt to appeal to the Ukrainian and other ethnic vote by making that kind of amendment which cost nothing at all.

Though the premier agreed that "the minimal expense was also a consideration" in adopting the new policy, he denied that his government "had to do this for political purposes". Yet, the minister of education remembers that "the government felt that there was some political advantage to doing this fairly close to the election".

When the School Act was changed in August of 1970 to allow French as a language of instruction in the province's schools, the minister of education claimed that assurances were given to various ethnic groups that their languages could still be studied in the province's schools even though this was not stated in the revised act. Mention of other languages was omitted "to give the minister a broader perogative because the act was also changed so that the minister could approve special curricular programs, which gave a great deal more flexibility". The Ukrainian and other ethnic communities did not accept this position, however:

> They argued that if it didn't appear in the act, it was left to ministerial discretion, as opposed to being guaranteed in the legislation. That's valid, although I didn't see it as a problem. They felt that there was some advantage in having other languages spelt out in the act. It didn't change the policy of the department at all, that policy had been in effect since the 1960's. It really became, as far as I was concerned, a semantical argument. We discussed it prior to the change and said, "We'll put it back in the act if it makes them feel better, but it isn't going to change anything".

The premier also felt that the change allowing other languages as languages of instruction in the school was "not breaking new ground. We were simply giving legal authority to something we were already doing". The minister of education summed up the government's feelings thus: "I didn't see that changes would take place in actual practices in the classroom as a result of the changes to the act in 1971, because those things were going on before". Even if new types of programs did emerge as a result of the changes to the School Act, the minister did not regard this possibility unfavourably. He explained:

> In 1969, there was a great change in the idea of courses to be offered in schools. School boards were given the option of not having to follow nearly as rigidly the courses the department had prescribed, but that, in fact, local boards could develop local courses which the minister could approve. Now, it would be a mistake to think this only applied to language and cultural programs, there were many other programs, ... for the gifted, remedial programs, and so on.

Perhaps another reason why the Multicultural Committee of the U.P.B.C. was "very well received by the premier and his cabinet when it presented the brief" in April of 1971 was that members of the committee had "good connections with the Social Credit government". The chairman of the committee had personally known the previous Social Credit premier "quite well from political elections and as a representative of the Ukrainian Community in Alberta and as president of the U.C.C." A Ukrainian M.L.A. in the government of the time was a "very good friend" and "one of our good friends in the government was the secretary of state -- a Ukrainian". The minister of education remembered Ukrainian M.L.A.'s and the secretary of state as being "strong supporters of the Ukrainian cause", as "making direct representations to him on these matters", and that "as M.L.A.'s their influence was considerable". The premier remembered that the secretary of state "would talk about it [allowing other languages in the schools] in cabinet, but that basically nobody was against the teaching of other languages anyway". Thus, the committee chairman could confidently state that "we had many 'ins' to the Social Credit government and direct access to some people in the government". It was felt that "the Social Credit premier who had recently come to power, was looking for connections to keep up loyalties, for support".

Though the premier recalls informal personal discussions with the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee's secretary concerning the maintenance of the Ukrainian language, the individual "who opened the way" to the premier's office was a friend of the secretary who was a special assistant to the premier. This "good political contact", recounts the committee's secretary, had the ear of the premier, was sympathetic to the committee's aims, and provided the Multicultural Committee with valuable advice:

> I spoke to him on a number of occasions; he was a classmate of my wife's at university, and at that time the U.P.B.C. had the view that they really had to do things on their own. When I spoke to him, he said, "Unless you have some kind of show of force, unless you can show the government that there is more than just the U.P.B.C.'s 300 strong, you are not going to get very far". So that's when we started cultivating the U.C.C., the Ukrainian Bishops, etc. The result was that everybody endorsed the brief and then it became a brief from the whole community. I remember him saying, "25,000 votes is better than 300 votes."

The advice from the special assistant to the committee's secretary was heeded and apparently worked well. The premier stated that "I never questioned that they were a representative group. They were a large group making this presentation. They represented professional people, men from all walks of life". The committee's secretary further believed that the special assistant played an "integral part" in ensuring the revisions to the School Act because he remembered the premier saying that "he thought very highly of the assistant's intellectual ability, relied on him, and trusted him". The premier concurred, stating that "I hold him [the special assistant] in very high regard. He was very much involved in the multicultural area". In any event, both the premier and the Multicultural Committee's secretary reported that the special assistant "encouraged the concept of multiculturalism".

A New Government Makes a Commitment

The successes of the Multicultural Committee of the U.P.B.C. and the future of multiculturalism in the province were placed in doubt with the fall of the Social Credit government on August 30, 1971. There was some concern among the committee that perhaps "the roof had fallen in because we felt we had educated the previous government to the point where we could get further concessions. We were disheartened at the Tory victory because we did not know what to expect from them". Though the Progressive Conservative Party had supported the New Policy on Multiculturalism announced by the previous government, the professor was wary of them in the role of government because they "had made only the vaguest commitments to multiculturalism during the campaign".

These fears, however, were entirely misplaced. The first and continuing chairman of the Multicultural Committee knew that the change in government was a "lucky break" for "the connections with the new government were even better than those we had had with the former government". Indeed, "the election was a blessing in disguise". During the election, members of the U.P.B.C. had "tried to extract commitments from the Tories, to pin them to a position on multiculturalism". The chairman of the Multicultural Committee, active in the provincial Progressive Conservative Party since the early fifties and now its president, "had some opportunities to advise the premier-to-be on the concept of multiculturalism, and the premier-to-be accepted it". While the committee chairman demurred on his role during the elections, other members of the committee were "under the impression that a great commitment on multiculturalism had been extracted from the premier-elect during the election campaign". The chairman concedes that he "didn't need any intermediaries" and "just went directly to the new premier, a close personal friend", and other members of the new cabinet. The secretary of the committee also had a "very close friend" in the new minister of advanced education.

After the election, the new government in essence "inherited the position paper of the previous government". Ethnic consciousness had been aroused by the Conference on Multiculturalism which had been held the month before the election, and "it was impossible for any government at this point to squelch all this". The Multicultural Committee felt that "after the election things moved quickly because the new government was already 'clued in'" on multiculturalism and the school related proposals of the Ukrainian community. Furthermore, a cabinet minister explained that "the government at that time was quite receptive to new kinds of initiatives because it got elected on the basis that they were prepared to try something new and different, and be a little bold". Thus, the new government not only accepted the new cultural directions of the former government, but called another, larger scale conference on multiculturalism for June of 1972.

In the meantime, the prime minister had announced the federal government's policy on 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971. On this and other "outstanding developments" in multiculturalism, the minister of labour for the province of Alberta addressed the members of the Ukrainian Language Association in Edmonton on February 25, 1972.

The minister, of Ukrainian descent, stated that if Ukrainian language and culture were to be preserved, "political influence" must be used to sway the government. Though praising the brief they had submitted to the Worth Commission on Educational Planning as well as the work of the education professor in helping to prepare this brief, the minister felt that a direct approach to elected officials, "to make your case to your elected school board member, city council member, your member of the legislative assembly and of the house of commons, is the only way that your aspirations will be met in part or in whole" (Hohol 1972:8). The speech was, in effect, an invitation to "the leadership of this ethnic group" to make their "objectives and aspirations" known to all levels of government. This speech left the impression that the provincial government was "open" to suggestions from the Ukrainian community concerning the maintenance of their culture and language.

The recently appointed minister of culture, youth and recreation was very sympathetic towards multiculturalism in general and the maintenance of Ukrainian language and culture in particular. The minister explained:

> One of the reasons why I was especially aware of the Ukrainian-Canadian's desire to preserve their heritage stemmed from a German language program I had done for ten years on a local foreign language radio station. At that time, the Ukrainians involved with the station said to me, "If you were to lose your program, what would it matter? People who are interested in the German language can still go back to Germany, but where can Ukrainians go?" I thought, " What do we as a government do? Nothing. How rich can we be, if we do nothing?"

In general the new minister of culture was upset at the small financial contribution that provincial governments had previously made to ethno-cultural projects and programs. In a workshop at the second multicultural conference (held in June of 1972) the minister heard the secretary of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee support the preservation of all ethno-cultural groups in Alberta, not just the Ukrainians. The minister was "very impressed" and the two "gained the confidence and loyalty of each other". In addition, during the fall of 1971, immediately after his appointment to the ministry of culture, youth and recreation, the minister was "bombarded by people" concerned with the government's policy on multiculturalism. As a result, the minister called the second conference, and the Multicultural Committee had to prepare still another brief.

This latest brief, entitled "For the Preservation and Development of the Ukrainian Culture and Heritage in Alberta", though formally presented by the U.C.C. in May of 1972, was again prepared by the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee and endorsed by the Ukrainian Bishops of the province. The same members of the Multicultural Committee who had worked on the brief to the previous government which sparked the first conference were also involved with the preparation of the new brief . These members considered this brief as "more sophisticated" and "tougher" than the one presented to the Social Credit government. The minister of culture saw this brief "as a challenge to the government". Indeed, it was a challenge (U.P.B.C. 1972:9-10):

> The School Act, as amended in April 1971, (S. 150(b)), permits school boards to authorize instruction in any language other than English according to the regulations of the minister of education. Without ministerial regulations,

> without any incentive grants in our increasingly cost-conscious age, without curricula, without textbooks, without teachers, and without co-ordinators in the Department of Education for languages other than French, it should surprise no one that no school board to date has taken advantage of the law. We submit that such legal tokenism is not in keeping with the concept of multiculturalism, taken seriously; and a government elected on a platform which calls for a better deal through diversity and encouragement of ethnic groups needs to take ... action to give effect to section 150(b).

The brief went on to make numerous recommendations concerning incentive grants, curriculum development, coordinators, etc.

Little came about immediately, and following the June 1972 conference, the U.P.B.C. members spent their time largely "in establishing valuable political relationships at the provincial level, particularly with numerous individuals of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian background on the government side, including several members of the cabinet" (Lupul and Savaryn 1974:19). For example, among many meetings the Multicultural Committee met with the minister of culture on October 20, 1972 and January 17, 1973 with the minister of labour. By March 12, 1973 the committee felt that it was "finally in a position to make its move", and a dinner meeting at the Royal Glenora Club was arranged for that evening. The committee, still consisting of the original chairman, the education professor and secretary, met with the government's three-member (minister of education, minister of advanced education, and minister of manpower and labour) cabined committee on education. At this meeting, which lasted "a couple of hours", the idea of "a three year pilot project in Ukrainian was suggested and seriously discussed" (Lupul and Savaryn 1974:19).

According to the Multicultural Committee's secretary the meeting went smoothly:

> Our committee chairman of course had great connections with the Tory government, and he was able to exert pretty profound pressure on the minister of labour. The minister of advanced education and I had been very close friends for fifteen years. We had talked about language and learning frequently, and he could never get over that I, a third generation Canadian of Ukrainian origin, still wanted to preserve my culture. He said, "If you are interested, it must be important." Before we had attended the meeting at the Royal Glenora, I had had a number of prior conversations with him and so I knew he was already with us, and that he would do anything to assist us. We knew that we had the minister of labour, and we knew that we had the minister of advanced education through a little lobbying on the side and through our friendships. The minister of education was just jammed in the middle, he had to go the way of his colleagues. The meeting was already decided before we attended. The end result was already decided because the other two already knew what we wanted, they both supported us, and the minister of education simply had to be convinced that this should be done. He was forced right along. He was the kind of minister that needed support from his colleagues, we knew that, and we lobbied that and prepared for that, and it just went like clockwork.

The minister of advanced education confirms that he had "both formal and informal discussions" about the proposed bilingual program with all the members of the Multicultural Committee before the March 12th meeting. He was, as the committee "knew or discovered shortly, sympathetic" to their proposals. The minister felt that his support added an "air of legitimacy to their point of view in that I was a minister and part of the cabinet committee on education". The minister had what he considered to be two important kinds of influence on the other members of the cabinet committee on education:

> One; I certainly was sympathetic and when it was discussed I expressed that point of view. Two; the Ukrainian Studies Institute at the University of Alberta was also being proposed and that was clearly in my ball park, and I was moving on that and seeking the support of other people to assist me. So it was a combination of both encouraging the committee and the minister of education in a certain direction. The minister of manpower and labour was also perceived as an ally of the Ukrainian community, and I believe that he was an ally. Of course, he was a member of the cabinet committee on education as well. I had the feeling that he was a little reluctant initially with the program initiative, only because he did not want to be seen as the sole initiator of a program on behalf of the people he represented, as it were. He was trying to be objective and fair, whereas I may have been more enthusiastic.

Obviously, the Multicultural Committee had the support of the minister of advanced education. To him, "the credibility of the group was very high". He "knew them and believed them, understood their sincerity, and felt that theirs was a meritorious view". He recognized that there was a revitalization of cultural awareness in the Ukrainian community at that time; "a new pride, a presence or whatever it was". As an "anglo-saxon Albertan who had taken so much of my own heritage for granted, that kind of thing had a lot of appeal" to the minister. He was impressed by the Ukrainian community's desire to "pass on its heritage to succeeding generations".

That the Multicultural Committee of the U.P.B.C. was representative of the Ukrainian community in general was never in question. The minister of advanced education, though admitting that the committee members "may not have necessarily been truly representative of the Ukrainian community", believed that, in his judgment, "they were legitimate spokesmen for a significant body of opinion in the province; the Ukrainian community of Northern Alberta". For his part, the minister of labour "did not perceive that the briefs and presentations came from the U.P.B.C. on its own at all". Behind them he saw the Ukrainian Churches, leading Alberta families of Ukrainian origin, some backing from the University of Alberta (i.e., the Ukrainian education professor), and politicians of Ukrainian descent. He fully supported their proposals to the cabinet committee on education because he "believed very strongly in multiculturalism". The minister of education consulted him on the Multicultural Committee's proposals and his testimony of support led the minister of education to say, "If you support it, then naturally we'll give it serious consideration". The minister of education recognized that "the group had been lobbying everyone they could, including the minister of culture, which was a good idea. He and I talked subsequently and he was supportive".

The minister of education was given "a verbal commitment" from the Multicultural Committee "that the interest would be there" from parents willing to send their children to the proposed program. "They persisted and said that there was other support around the community, ... they were convinced and I thought they were reasonable people". Though no real guarantees (e.g., a petition signed by parents) were presented to the cabinet education committee, "the suggestion was that they had canvassed the possible or potential interest and they were virtually certain that it would be there provided that there was a reasonable program". The ministers of advanced education and of labour supported the proposal of the

Multicultural Committee at the March 12th meeting and the minister of education, whose responsibility the program would become, felt "added comfort because I respected their judgments, but I drew no conclusions that night because I needed more inputs".

In seeking these 'inputs' he found that "there was considerable interest among the caucus, within the department of education", from "individuals by letter and over the phone, people I'd run into, and so on". The chairman of the Multicultural Committee (a very prominent Progressive Conservative Party executive) "certainly had a significant impact" on the minister of education. The minister also perceived that "there was a wider degree of public support for the program" but said that "the biggest supporters were the caucus, the minister of labour, the minister of culture, and others in the government". All in all, the minister of education felt that the Multicultural Committee had made "an effective approach".

At that March 12th meeting it was suggested that the Multicultural Committee convey in writing some of its main proposals. On March 26, 1973, a letter from the committee, on U.C.C. letterhead and signed by its president (who was also a member of the Multicultural Committee), was sent to the minister of education outlining these proposals. With regards to grade school education, the letter stated the following:

> Specifically, we would appreciate the opportunity to establish an experimental, three-year project in at least one classroom in both the public and separate school systems of Edmonton where Ukrainian would be the language of instruction for the whole day in Grades I and II (with one hour in English) and for half a day

> in Grade III (and subsequent grades if the experiment is successful). The law permits such bilingual instruction and regulations for it exist, if we may assume that those drawn up for French in 1970 are transferable. At the present time the initiative in implementing the law and the regulations lies with local school boards. In today's cost-conscious environment, boards need to know that any extra costs incurred in implementing new programs or courses will be met by the provincial government.

No immediate reply was received for the letter, but pressure for action on the part of the government was building. In May of 1973 the education professor had been named Prairie Regional Chairman of the federally sponsored Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. He was obliged to hold the prairie region's first meeting in Edmonton on June 23rd. Its aim at that time was to "give multiculturalism a higher profile". As chairman of the Consultative Council, the education professor, feeling "that there wasn't much happening", criticized the "Alberta government's policy on multiculturalism as a facade". At an evening reception of the Consultative Council, attended by numerous ethno-cultural groups and the minister responsible for culture, the minister asked, "What should we do to please you? Do you have ideas?" The education professor replied that "with respect to second language education we want bilingual schooling which uses Ukrainian, and other languages as well, as a language of instruction. Moreover, all of this was explained to the minister of education in our letter of March 26, to which we have had no reply". The minister, though "vigorous in his reaction" was not offended and saw the professor's comments as a "challenge" to the government: "I, as minister, was able to use that with my colleagues, saying, 'Look, we could be accused of only putting up a facade because we are really not doing anything to prove that we meant what we said'".

In the meantime, the secretary of the Multicultural Committee had been elected the first chairman of the Alberta Heritage Council. The minister of culture, under whose auspices the Heritage Council fell, was very pleased with the way it was being run and with its new chairman. Chairman and minister subsequently developed a "very good relationship", so much so that the minister termed the chairman "a great statesman". The Heritage Council Chairman, still the secretary of Multicultural Committee, felt that there "was no doubt that I was able to 'cash in' for the Ukrainian community on my association with the minister". In fact, at that evening reception hosted by the Consultative Council, it was the Multicultural Committee's secretary and the minister responsible for culture who smoothed the way "to get something going".

A letter of June 26, 1973 to the minister of culture from the education professor, on the University of Alberta letterhead, expressed "keen disappointment that no reply had been given to the matters raised in our letter of March 26". The long awaited reply came on July 10, 1973 in a letter from the minister of education. This letter referred to the brief presented at the March 12th meeting and the discussion between the Multicultural Committee's secretary and the minister of culture at the evening reception of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism on June 23rd. The minister of education was prepared to offer the following:

(1) "a pilot project for Grades 1, 2 and 3 (three classrooms) in a centrally located school to instruct these grades in their subjects in English as well as in Ukrainian", (2) funding for bussing of students and "for someone you select to travel to the Ukraine in order to ascertain whether or not [text] books would be available for use in this project", (3) subsidy for selected texts and such materials as required for the project, and (4) the appointment of "someone of Ukrainian ethno-cultural background working in the Department of Education, to work with your appointed committee to have this pilot project in operation by September, 1974".

These proposals had met with "general support in the caucus and cabinet" and had passed "with little or no fanfare, ... it wasn't an issue or in jeopardy". The minister of education reported that "one reason that it was a pilot program was because there were questions in caucus about how many people were going to register". He explained further:

> It is one thing to set up and make available a program and to have it suggested that a hundred or so parents would support it, but of course you cannot force anybody to register their children in the program. We did not even know who these people were going to be because we hadn't gone into the Ukrainian community and said, "Would you register and may we have your name?" So that's why I thought a pilot project would be a good idea. If the submissions that were made to me by those interested were correct, then after three years the program would continue. If they were not, then we would know about the lack of numbers, and it would end.

The minister of culture saw the pilot program "as an opportunity to demonstrate" to his colleagues that the parents were interested and "then we would get the funding". Likewise, the minister of advanced education thought that though pilot projects "are no real commitment initially, they have a way of becoming permanent ... and those of us involved with it saw it as only phase one of a developing thing". In any event, the members of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee were "elated and perplexed" by the government's response. No dollar figures were mentioned though a financial commitment had been made and the committee knew that "a central school and textbooks from Communist Ukraine, however, were aspects ... which would be unacceptable to most parents" (Lupul 1976:6). The Multicultural Committee "bided its time" over the summer of 1973.

The Kindergarten Movement

At this juncture an unexpected source of aid and support emerged. Unknown to the Multicultural Committee, a group of Edmonton mothers, including the president and secretary of the Council of Ukrainian Schools of the Western Diocese of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, invited the supervisor of the government's Early Childhood Services (E.C.S.) program for the Edmonton Public School Board, to speak to them about kindergartens. On August 15, 1973 the supervisor told about 15 women that under the E.C.S. program, Ukrainian language kindergartens, in public school classrooms were possible. Those present contributed $102 out of pocket to help launch a kindergarten movement, and a second meeting was called.

This second meeting, held in mid-September, was attended by about fifty persons from the Ukrainian Orthodox community, including the education professor who was then the co-chairman of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee. The E.C.S. supervisor outlined in more detail how, under the E.C.S. program, any group which could organize and sustain a kindergarten within the school system for at least six months would qualify for a grant. The meeting then decided to go ahead with a united Orthodox and Catholic movement. A hastily called meeting of those Ukrainian Catholics interested in the movement for a Ukrainian kindergarten followed and another committee was formed. The first chairman (now a co-chairman) of the Multicultural Committee served as advisor to the Catholic committee and the professor assumed the same role with the Orthodox committee.

The sadochky (kindergarten) had to be affirmed before the end of 1973 to come under the E.C.S. program for September of the following year. Both churches urged parents to send their children to the program, and the Ukrainian Language Association actively solicited more parents. In presentations made to the Edmonton school boards in November of 1973, the Ukrainians promised that about 100 children would attend the new kindergarten. Though the numbers seemed sufficient, funding was a more difficult condition to meet. The Ukrainian community had to be responsible for the cost of the program until the end of the 1973-1974 school year, when the E.C.S. program would take over expenses. To help allay these costs donations from the Ukrainian churches and other organizations were collected. Parents also paid ten dollars per month per child in the program. The government supplied a grant of $20,000 for teachers and teacher aids from its Priority Employment Program.

With great effort, the Ukrainian kindergartens were opened on January 4, 1974.

The kindergarten movement played a very significant role in the subsequent development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. The children in the kindergarten were seen to be "natural grade one students" in the fall of 1974 when the bilingual pilot project was expected to get underway. The education professor "made this connection" immediately: "It was crucially important to get the kindergarten off the ground because these children could move into the grade school program, and the presence of children in the kindergarten classrooms would give the Multicultural Committee a solid basis from which to approach the school boards" concerning the bilingual pilot program. Importantly, the kindergarten established the model for the forthcoming bilingual elementary program (Lupul 1976:6):

> The five kindergartens were decentralized in five schools, four public and one separate, and each teacher prepared her own curriculum and teaching materials with the help of school officials. The elementary curriculum, too, would be prepared locally and classes would be decentralized in neighborhood schools whenever possible, with the children otherwise transported to several centralized schools.

The kindergarten movement also marked the first real involvement of parents in the attempt to establish the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, because, according to the education professor, "once the kindergartens got started ... that's when the people became involved".

The Program Gets Underway

As late as October 1973 "details still had to be worked out" for the bilingual pilot project to start in June 1974. In early November members of the Multicultural Committee met with the superintendents of both boards to discuss the proposed bilingual program and the government's support for the program. The superintendents requested that written briefs be presented before each board. On November 22 and December 2 these briefs were presented to the Edmonton Public School Board and the Edmonton Catholic School System respectively. The briefs requested that the boards "permit bilingual grade one classes in September 1974 where, besides English, the language of instruction would be Ukrainian for up to 50 percent of the school day". It also suggested that "it seems most reasonable that Ukrainian be the language of instruction in subjects such as the fine arts, physical education, and the social studies". It was reasoned that in these areas the learning of Ukrainian could take place in a "cultural context with the main emphasis on fluency". Of course it was pointed out that the government had promised to meet any additional expenses associated with the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program.

Both superintendents took the stance that "we will take the proposal to the board, but the question is going to be who will pay for it". Each felt that though finances were problematic in their own estimations, the boards would offer the program "as long as the department of education approved it". To clear these concerns, especially the boards' misgivings about provincial financial commitments, the chairman of the Multicultural Committee used his "leverage" with the Progressive Conservative party to get the minister of labour to arrange a meeting on December 27, 1973 with the cabinet committee on education. At this meeting the Multicultural Committee reported to the minister of education that the Ukrainian kindergartens would definitely open in January and detailed the financial needs "which had to be met if the bilingual classes were to succeed". The intent of the Multicultural Committee at this meeting was to inform the ministers that the school boards were "skeptical" about receiving "extra money for the pilot project", and to press for specific monetary commitments.

The minister of education responded to the Multicultural Committee's proposals on January 2, 1974, saying, "I am prepared to recommend to the cabinet committee on education and to the cabinet that a three-year pilot project be commenced, with provincial involvement to the extent of from $40,000 to $50,000 per year" providing the Edmonton public and Catholic school boards contributed time and personnel. The minister also went on to ask that the Multicultural Committee set up a meeting with the Department of Education officials and officials of the two school boards to provide "more detailed information as to the kind of program" that was contemplated.

It was easy enough for the cabinet committee on education to allocate up to $50,000 per year to the pilot project because "first of all we had the money, and $50,000 a year, in the Department of Education budget, was really nothing". An expenditure of so "few dollars" did not require cabinet approval. On the other hand the minister of culture felt that "initially $50,000 was an unbelievably big sum" for a multicultural program, "but, of course, it was just part of the Department of Education budget".

The meeting suggested by the minister of education between the Multicultural Committee and department and board officials "conclusively decided" that the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Pilot Project would "definitely start in the fall of 1974". In the meantime, the boards passed administrative recommendations and approved the concept of bilingual English-Ukrainian elementary classes "in principle". There was concern that there was too much to "be worked out in the next two or three months" in order to start classes in the fall of 1974. The superintendent of the separate (Catholic) system added that, "all this could be developed by September 1975 if work on it begins right away". Despite these reservations with respect to the timing of the program's start, approval in principle was a boost to the Multicultural Committee "because it could go back to the minister [of education] and say, 'Yes, we now have approval in principle'".

Once this approval was granted the minister of education acted almost immediately. After the subsequent meeting between the Multicultural Committee, the Department of Education, and the boards on January 25, the minister announced a more detailed agreement. The department indicated that it would use the previously committed $40,000 to $50,000 a year for the project in the following areas:

(a) hire a Ukrainian curriculum specialist immediately;

(b) begin immediately to devise a curriculum for language arts, to commence in Grade 1 this fall, with work on physical education and fine arts curricula if time and resources permit;

(c) prepare appropriate curricular materials;

(d) pay honoraria to the teachers to be provided by the school boards, for curriculum development work in July and August of 1974.

As well, the department would support the transportation of pupils according to existing regulations and to pay 80% of the cost of evaluation of the program. In return the boards would provide the teachers, schools, and other ancillary materials to the program. The Ukrainian community promised to recruit no fewer than 100 grade one students and to ensure continuing parent support for the project. Consequently, in early March both boards formally agreed to initiate the English-Ukrainian Bilingual pilot project in September of 1974.

Throughout the discussions and deliberations between the Multicultural Committee and the cabinet committee on education, the minister of education suggested to, and assumed that, the committee had talked to school board trustees and administrators concerning the proposed program. In fact the committee kept the boards relatively well informed as to the progress of their negotiations with the government and maintained numerous "personal, private" contacts with "key" school personnel. Many of these personal contacts had been developed over the years through the cooperation between the Ukrainian community and the school boards' administrations with respect to the Ukrainian high school courses which were introduced in 1959. There had also been considerable cooperation concerning Ukrainian Saturday classes which were held in public and separate school buildings. Thus, the Ukrainian community/board administration liaison needed for the bilingual program was seen as "nothing really new" by those Multicultural Committee members who had had a long involvement with these other Ukrainian education programs.

Connections with school personnel went back even further. The father of an original member of the Multicultural Committee had been a superintendent of schools in Edmonton, as had the father-in-law of the education professor. The first chairman of the Multicultural Committee "knew the superintendent of the public school board quite well because the superintendent was a member of the Ukrainian community", and the superintendent of the separate board was "a personal friend" of the committee chairman. He also "had a number of friends" on the separate school board, including a trustee who was to become a cabinet minister in the provincial government. The secretary of the Multicultural Committee was well known to trustees as an alderman and he also had a personal friend and "fellow lawyer on the board" of the public schools whom he "asked for help on the program". The superintendent of the public board states that he was aware that "a number of those people [from the Multicultural Committee] would have lobbied individual trustees".

At the administrative level the boards felt that they "were brought in at a very early stage" in the development of the program and "were kept informed all along" by the Multicultural Committee. Long before any formal presentations were made to the boards "a number of people, at different times, at different gatherings, mostly informally" spoke to the public school superintendent regarding the possibility of setting up a bilingual English-

Ukrainian program. The separate school superintendent was "contacted on several occasions prior to the presentation to the board", particularly by the education professor. The Multicultural Committee was a "group of professional people, well known" to the administrations of both boards. At the separate board, "at the administrative level, there had been a great deal of discussion for a year and a half or two years before the official proposal". These discussions were the result of informal approaches by members of the Multicultural Committee.

Not only were the boards "informed during that period" prior to the official presentation, but each system was "basically very receptive" to the proposals. According to the separate board superintendent the Multicultural Committee "had constantly brought it to our attention and discussed the feasibility and, of course, I think the answer from both boards was if we had money to cover it, if there were materials and teachers, if there were funds, we were prepared to offer it". For the public board "finances was a problem, it should not cost extra funds", but the superintendent "did not detect any opposition to the program" nor did he "detect at any time, from any trustee, that it was to be judged on the basis of Ukrainian alone". The proposed English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program was evaluated as a general proposal equally applicable to other ethno-cultural groups, and as to how it would "fit in with the total program" of the public board.

The Multicultural Committee met formally with each superintendent a few weeks before making the official presentation to the boards in late 1973. The Edmonton Public School Board superintendent got the "impression at that time" that the committee was attempting to "lobby heavily with us, and to push us to see how much we would do". They were "good negotiators for their cause" and indicated that as they "were going to get financial help from the government", the board should give greater support to the program. The superintendent of the Edmonton Catholic School System interpreted the committee's official visit with him as less aggressive than did his counterpart at the public board. "They brought along a copy of the brief and wanted to know what I thought, as an administrator, what the reaction of the trustees might be, whether it would be acceptable to the separate school board". He saw their visit as yet another effort to keep his board "informed" and also to solicit "suggestions from us, as practicing educators in the field, that they might use".

The superintendent of the public board, who was of Ukrainian origin, was invited to speak at a dinner held by the U.P.B.C. on April 11, 1973. Though the invitation asked him to speak on the topic of 'Language and Culture', he "steered away from 'culture' in the sense of Ukrainian nationalism" and entitled his speech "Teaching of the Ukrainian Language and Ukrainian History in the Edmonton Public School System". Though his talk addressed Ukrainian language and history as aspects of a broader program of "alternate" projects, during the question period he was asked directly about his support for the proposed English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. His board, he replied, "was moving in the direction of regarding any language program very positively if it was supported by the community". His own "personal view" was that he would "highly support" the Ukrainian program because he felt, "as a parent and educator, that people should have some say in education". He went on:

> I indicated to them that my support came not because I was of Ukrainian descent, but because of an underlying belief in the concept for any group. That support would apply to any group, the German community, the Chinese. I felt that if there was a Ukrainian group which wanted a Ukrainian program, we should try to offer it to them. I also indicated that I stood for their chance to have that kind of program offered and having been given that chance, the continuation of the program would depend upon a demand or continued support. If they couldn't generate that support, then that was a different issue. As an administration, as a board, we'd be faced with hard decisions.

He reassured the U.P.B.C. that the Edmonton Public School Board would "do our bit" to support the program, but he saw it as "not going to be an easy row to hoe" for the Ukrainian community to preserve their language and culture. He mentioned to "a number of people" in the U.P.B.C. that he did not want to "take the initiative as superintendent, because of his Ukrainian background there might be some possible 'conflict of interest'". Although he subsequently "kept low profile" he would have "gone to bat" for the program as part of a "broader framework" of alternative projects.

The superintendent of the separate board, an individual not of Ukrainian origin, was generally equally supportive of the program and was less hesitant than his public school counterpart to praise the approach of the Ukrainian community:

> Over a number of years the U.P.B.C. was very active and these people were very interested in developing Saturday classes and classes at the

> high school level. For years our schools were used for Saturday instruction. So naturally then, on the basis of cooperation we worked together, we gave them the schools completely free, they looked after their teachers. And so, over the years, we had worked together on a professional basis and a personal basis. When they were talking about the bilingual program they came to us and made sure that they had. It was a good approach, the Ukrainian committee made definite steps to make sure that everybody was consulted. We were brought into consultation, we were called when the first materials came out. We were brought in on the planning rather than to have the planning done independently of the school system and then slapped bang at you. Our teachers were in on it. So I think it was much easier to accept the final program if you understand why it is being done and you were in on part of the planning. That's the secret of good success. It was good procedure.

In September of 1974, 125 students in grade one classes at eight Edmonton schools, attended the first day of classes in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program.

Epilogue

Despite the fact that the boards felt sufficiently involved in the bilingual program's development, it remains that they were not the first governing level approached by the Multicultural Committee. "It was", stated the minister of advanced education, "clearly a decision on the part of the committee to use the political ladder at the provincial level rather than the school board level". To the minister's mind, the committee was "playing politics" to achieve its goals even though it "didn't want approval of their proposals strictly on the basis of politics". At the boards, the superintendents were apparently not upset that the committee's first overtures were made to the provincial government and not themselves. They felt that "when introducing a program like that the first move, and it could be considered political, was to go to the minister first". This was seen to be "part of the process" in that "you can't start a course unless it's approved [by the provincial government]. They had to sound it out politically first". The minister of culture agreed, stating that "if the Multicultural Committee had done it any other way, I don't think it would have worked".

The separate school superintendent felt that the Multicultural Committee was "wise, and didn't try to wield a heavy hand with the government; it was well handled". As a result of the committee's "good work" with the government, "the minister of education made a political decision [to support the bilingual program] and his department put its resources behind it to see that it would succeed." Both superintendents concluded that the minister of education "was committed to it succeeding" and so "followed through with action" and "made a tremendous effort" to get the program underway on schedule.

It was also recognized, at the school board level, that the Multicultural Committee had many "political connections with the Conservative government". The minister of culture was seen as "a strong supporter" and the committee had "sensitized" M.L.A.'s of Ukrainian background in order to get "somebody to plead our case for us in caucus". The committee allowed that they had established "easy communications" with the government and that at least one of its members "always had a political strength or involvement" when it was needed in the process of negotiations with the cabinet committee on education. Moreover, "there was a lot of school tie stuff" between members of the Multicultural Committee and the provincial government. Consequently, neither superintendent was surprised when the committee succeeded in extracting a firm commitment to the bilingual program from the government.

The government and the school boards both saw that the "main drive for the program came from a specific group, the Multicultural Committee". One superintendent stated that "they had some very persuasive, high powered people on that committee", and a minister concurred, saying that "the credibility of the players who met with the government was a very significant factor, the program itself was as well, but those players were very effective". The minister of advanced education didn't think that the effectiveness of the Multicultural Committee was a "function of its being from an established ethnic group", but rather "as a function of the individual people involved". "Let's face it", said the minister, "if they had been total strangers representing the Ukrainian community, even if they had been the legitimate spokesmen of that community, but they didn't share a personal relationship with the key ministers involved, it would have been a much more difficult, protracted process".

As has been intimated earlier, the members of the Multicultural Committee did feel that they were representative of the Ukrainian community in Edmonton. They felt that they "had the field covered". The secretary of the committee "was a known Liberal", the chairman "an influential Conservative" and the education professor was acknowledged as an authority on "the education of ethnic minorities in western Canada". The secretary and professor are "third generation Canadians" from established Alberta families, while the chairman of the committee "had very good contacts with the Ukrainian third immigration". The professor "was of Orthodox background", the chairman was a Catholic and the secretary was seen as one of those for whom "religion wasn't a key factor" in the program. The minister of culture summed up the active members of the Multicultural Committee as follows: "They were hard workers for the Ukrainian community in every way, and represented each segment of Ukrainian background, be it Orthodox, Catholic, Liberal or Conservative. They represent those people".

Though the Multicultural Committee was representative in the sense above, it was not a certainty that parents and students actually wanted the bilingual program. The chairman of the committee mused that "on the top you can do anything, dream up all kinds of schemes, but unless you have the support of the population, well...". The superintendent of the separate school system similarly felt that "there was a danger that a certain portion of the Ukrainian community, professional people, were pushing this but that the children wouldn't enroll". Although the Multicultural Committee had "guaranteed that they would get 100 children" for the program, both boards were not certain "whether or not it would be supported by the Ukrainian community". When the time to recruit pupils finally came, the committee relied heavily on the churches. "It was enough for the churches to make public pronouncements and say, 'Send your children to the schools'". The churches "immediately supported the program fantastically" because they were "losing the young generation which did not understand the sermons or the mass in Ukrainian".

Regardless of the motivations from the churches in supporting the bilingual program, the Multicultural Committee was motivated by the gradual loss of Ukrainian language and culture by succeeding generations of Ukrainian-Canadians, and the process of "Russification" taking place in the homeland. As one member of the committee phrased it, "Whether other ethnic groups survive here or not does not matter, they are strong in Europe. They are not in danger of extinction, and we are". That "the Ukrainian community felt much more threatened in terms of its survival" than other groups in the province was recognized and seen as legitimate by the cabinet committee on education. The ministers agreed that what the committee was saying "was extremely meritorious", and that, "Yes, if we don't do this, what you predict may indeed happen, and it would be a great loss for all of us, not just for you".

In looking back at the development and introduction of the program the superintendents agreed that "it went ahead so quickly" because the 'Alternatives in Education' program was well underway. According to the Edmonton Public School Board report of March, 1974 (p.2) alternative education is defined as "a means of delivering educational services to a plurality of publics which provides accessible choice among a diversity of programs". The boards at that time, then, "were looking at other kinds of things, of programs of alternatives". The Multicultural Committee and the bilingual program arrived "at the right time":

> The late sixties and early seventies was a period of experimentation. School boards were willing to develop new programs and to try something new. We had many pilot programs and it wasn't as tight financially as now.
>
> In the late sixties enrollments peaked in many areas and the boards subsequently had surplus space. There was, then, an opportunity to draw children into programs that might not otherwise be contemplated.

Thus, while both superintendents did not want to minimize the impact of the Multicultural Committee "that worked so hard and lobbied", they did agree that "there is nothing like an idea whose time has come". In addition, the cabinet committee on education might not have given such speedy approval to the Multicultural Committee's proposal had it not been so inexperienced. As a member of the cabinet committee reveals, "because the government is a little older, its procedures are more refined and more thorough consideration is given to program initiatives now".

In the fall of 1977 the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program was no longer a pilot project and was extended, on a permanent basis, into grades 4, 5 and 6. As of September 1979 the program was further extended to include the junior high years (grades 7, 8 and 9) and there is the expectation that it will be extrapolated up to grade twelve in the future. The Social Credit government which originally amended the School Act to allow the use of languages other than French and English as 'languages of instruction' in Alberta classrooms did not envisage that it would result in such an extensive government sponsored program as now exists. The Progressive Conservative minister responsible for culture who took over the multicultural policy begun by the Social Credit party "carried on with a certain amount of more vigour in some areas than the Social Credit government had expected to". The former minister of education for the Social Credit government agreed that the Conservative government "had gone further than the Social Credit government had intended" with respect to bilingual school programs.

The former Social Credit premier views the subsequent development of the program in much the same way as his former minister of education:

> I'm not so sure that it has accomplished what we would have liked to accomplish. Some of these groups became pressure groups who wanted the government to establish facilities for them that would guarantee their language and culture. It was never intended to be that. It was intended to give them the opportunity to do it themselves. Some of them have failed to really grasp that idea. The setting up of extensive school programs was really not thought of at that time, but to give greater attention to their culture, language and ethnic background! The establishment of a true operative society that uses the language in every phase of its life was never at any time envisioned for languages other than French. It was in the social area of the sheer enjoyment that there was another language that they could use and enjoy themselves. Another culture was there for their enjoyment. We never envisioned that this would bring out a fragmentation to the point that we were going to become a nation of half a dozen different languages all trying to operate. When you do that kind of thing you are going to create divisions between communities whether you like it or not. We should try to discover each other, but if we go off in different directions with language and customs, we'll never get to that.

In the former premier's mind "doubts" exist about what the change in the School Act and the attendant bilingual programs actually "accomplished" in terms of "unity" in Alberta society. Though he still supports the concept of multiculturalism, with regards to the granting of equal status with French to all 'other' languages in Alberta's schools, he now feels that, "in retrospect, I may have taken a different attitude".

The 'natural history' presented in this chapter provides nearly all of the data which will be analyzed by the four paradigms of community power structure outlined in Chapter III. The next chapter and Appendix A contain further data on the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. The analysis of this data is to be carried out in the final two chapters.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDENTS IN THE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM

Introduction

In the preceding chapter the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Edmonton was described. This chapter will provide a description of the background characteristics of the students enrolled in the program. These characteristics include the children's ethnic background, how many generations their families have been in Canada, their parents' frequency and fluency of Ukrainian language use, socio-economic status, parents' educational background, and the student's intellectual abilities. In order to provide a complete picture of the bilingual program Appendix A deals with the program's curriculum, classroom language use, enrollments, rates of participation, additional costs, and the performance of its students.

The data given in the present chapter is an important aspect of the study in that it will assist in the determination of who benefits from the bilingual program. The analyses undertaken in later chapters will make use of this data in assessing the nature of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. Is it an elite program? As a policy outcome, which social group in the community does it serve? Answers to questions such as these will be based in part upon the data in this chapter.

A Note on Data Sources

Most of the data used in this chapter and Appendix A have been garnered from evaluations done separately by the Edmonton Catholic School Board (Tomko, 1975: Ewanyshyn, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979) and the Edmonton Public School Board (E.P.S.B. 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979). These evaluations were conducted for the first five years of the program only. As the original data (e.g., responses to questionnaires, results of tests, etc.) were not available to the researcher, many statistical tests which may have proven helpful in interpreting the data could not be used. In addition, some of the data reported in the evaluations were incomplete and/or presented inconsistently from year to year. Thus, in the tables which follow, the available information is summarized in as much detail possible given the less than ideal sources of data.

Background of Students in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program

As one might expect, almost all of the students who have been enrolled in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program were of Ukrainian ethnic origin. Table 3, compiled from statistics taken from the annual evaluations done by both the public and Catholic boards, shows that for the first four years of the program a large majority of the children in the program had either both or one of their parents of Ukrainian origin (i.e., in the first year 91.0%; the second 88.0%; the third 89.2%; the fourth 91.4%).

The Ukrainian Bilingual Association Summer Project of 1977 (Petryshyn 1978) compared the ethnic background of parents whose children were participating in the bilingual program with Ukrainian parents whose children were non-participants. Table 4 indicates that a greater proportion of students enrolled in the bilingual

Table 3

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF GRADE ONE STUDENTS IN THE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM (BOTH SCHOOL BOARDS) IN PERCENTAGES, BY YEAR

	Year			
	1974-75 (1st)	1975-76 (2nd)	1976-77 (3rd)	1977-78 (4th)
Both parents of Ukrainian origin	62.8 (49)	43.4 (36)	52.3 (58)	51.7 (60)
Mother is of Ukrainian origin and father is of partial Ukrainian origin or of no Ukrainian background	9.0 (7)	16.9 (14)	14.4 (16)	19.0 (22)
Father is of Ukrainian origin and mother is of partial Ukrainian origin or of no Ukrainian background	19.2 (15)	27.7 (23)	22.5 (25)	20.7 (24)
Both parents are of partial Ukrainian origin or one is of partial Ukrainian origin and the other is of no Ukrainian background	5.1 (4)	8.4 (7)	5.4 (6)	2.6 (3)
Neither parent is of Ukrainian origin	3.8 (3)	3.6 (3)	5.4 (6)	6.0 (7)

Table 4

PARENTS' GENERATION IN CANADA BY ENROLLMENT OR NON-ENROLLMENT OF CHILDREN IN THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM IN PERCENTAGES (N=434), UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL ASSOCIATION SUMMER PROJECT, 1977

	Enrolled		Not Enrolled	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
First Generation	25.3	32.9	8.5	33.9
Second Generation	44.3	46.2	49.2	33.9
Third Generation	17.1	12.1	16.9	18.6
Fourth Generation	6.3	2.5	16.9	5.1
No Response	7.0	6.3	8.5	8.5

program had mothers who were first generation Ukrainian (25.3% versus 8.5%) and fathers who were second generation Ukrainian (46.2% versus 33.9%). While no definitive conclusions can be made, it would appear that prior to September of 1977 most parents of children enrolled in the bilingual program were first or second generation Canadians (i.e., 69.6% of mothers and 79.1% of fathers). Also, fewer of the children in the bilingual program had parents who were fourth generation Ukrainian than did children not in the program (6.3% versus 16.9% and 2.5% versus 5.1% for mothers and fathers respectively). Similar statistics are not available for subsequent years. In addition, Petryshyn (1978:113) found no significant rural/urban differences between parents whose children were in the program (53.8% were raised on a farm) and those whose children were not enrolled in the program (50.8% were raised on a farm).

There is also some evidence that the parents whose children are enrolled in the bilingual program tend to have more knowledge of the Ukrainian language than do parents of children not enrolled in the program. For example, the study carried out in the summer of 1977 under the supervision of the Ukrainian Bilingual Association (Petryshyn 1978) found considerable difference between mothers of enrolled and non-enrolled students with respect to fluency in the Ukrainian language. As indicated in Table 5, mothers of students enrolled in the bilingual program could understand, speak, read and write Ukrainian significantly better than the mothers of not-enrolled students. The differences for fathers, however, were not statistically significant.

Table 5

PARENTS' SELF-RATED FLUENCY IN THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE, BY ENROLLMENT OR NON-ENROLLMENT OF CHILDREN IN THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM, IN PERCENTAGES (N=217 for mothers, N=217 for fathers), UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL ASSOCIATION SUMMER PROJECT, 1977

	Fluent				Able to Get By				Not At All			
	Enrolled		Not Enrolled		Enrolled		Not Enrolled		Enrolled		Not Enrolled	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Understand	53.8	58.2	23.7	42.4	19.6	22.2	16.9	35.6	25.3	18.4	59.3	20.3
Speak	41.8	46.8	16.9	30.5	26.6	30.4	15.3	44.1	29.7	20.9	66.1	23.7
Read	12.0	7.0	3.4	10.2	19.0	20.9	8.5	8.5	64.6	63.9	83.1	69.5
Write	9.5	6.3	3.4	8.5	16.5	15.8	5.1	6.8	68.4	70.9	86.4	72.9

The "No Response" category is omitted, therefore rows do not add to 100 per cent.

During the program's first year of operation, the E.P.S.B. (1975:4) found that in one-half of the families which had a child in the bilingual program both parents could speak Ukrainian and in another one-third at least one parent could speak Ukrainian. In contrast, in only one-fifth of these families neither parent could speak Ukrainian. Also, in 45.6% of these families both parents conversed with their children in Ukrainian and in a further 16.2% at least one parent did so. Unfortunately, as the E.P.S.B. did not set up a control group (e.g., Ukrainian families with children in the regular grade one program), one cannot say how the above data would compare to the Edmonton Ukrainian community as a whole.

During the bilingual program's first year of operation, however, the Edmonton Catholic School System did conduct a study using a control group selected from Ukrainian families having children enrolled in the regular grade one program throughout its schools. The control group (N=50) was matched with fifty students who were in the first grade of the bilingual program on the following variables: (a) reading readiness, (b) socio-economic status, and (c) sex (Tomko 1975:1). Some of the differences between the two groups in terms of language skills and language usage are summarized in Tables 6 and 7.

As Table 6 shows, a somewhat greater proportion of fathers having children enrolled in the bilingual program 'always' speak Ukrainian than do the fathers of non-enrolled children (29.4% versus 17.4%). Similarly, a greater proportion of mothers having children enrolled in the bilingual program 'often' or 'always' speak

Table 6

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH PARENTS OF GRADE ONE STUDENTS OF UKRAINIAN ORIGIN SPEAK UKRAINIAN, IN PERCENTAGES, EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1974-75

Program	Parent	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
English-Ukrainian Bilingual	Mother N=35	5.7	5.7	42.9	34.3	11.4
	Father N=34	5.9	2.9	35.3	26.5	29.4
Regular	Mother N=23	8.7	26.1	39.1	13.0	13.0
	Father N=23	4.3	8.6	39.1	30.4	17.4

Table 7

LANGUAGE IN WHICH PARENTS OF GRADE ONE STUDENTS OF UKRAINIAN ORIGIN SPEAK TO THEIR CHILDREN, IN PERCENTAGES, EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1974-75

Program	Parent	English Only	Both	Ukrainian Only
English-Ukrainian Bilingual	Mother N=35	17.1	71.5	11.4
	Father N=35	14.3	68.6	17.1
Regular	Mother N=23	47.8	39.1	13.0
	Father N=23	47.8	43.4	8.8

Ukrainian than do the mothers of non-enrolled children (47.7% versus 26.0%). Table 7 indicates that a greater proportion of parents of non-enrolled children speak only English to their children than do parents having children enrolled in the bilingual program (47.8% versus 17.1% for mothers, and 47.8% versus 14.3% for fathers).

Further information on the language characteristics of the parents of children in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program is given in Table 8 (E.P.S.B. 1976, 1977). As shown in Table 8, in the program's second year of operation (1975-76) in the public system, more than half (52.5%) of the program pupils came from families where both parents had some knowledge of the Ukrainian language. Also, in 39.2% and 34.4% of the students' families, both parents could speak Ukrainian 'fluently' and could 'read and write' Ukrainian respectively. By the next year (1976-77), however, in more than a quarter (25.4%) of the families neither parent had any knowledge of Ukrainian and in over three-quarters (76.1%) neither parent could read or write Ukrainian.

Explanations for the substantial decrease in Ukrainian language skills on the part of parents of children in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program between the 1975-76 and 1976-77 school years (as shown in Table 8) are difficult to find. Since statistics for subsequent years are not directly comparable, it is again difficult to establish if there is any consistent pattern of change in the bilingual program students' language background. In any case, figures for 1977-78 (E.P.S.B. 1978:5) show that whereas in 13% of the families of grade one bilingual program students for

Table 8

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND OF GRADE ONE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM STUDENTS IN THE EDMONTON PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, IN PERCENTAGES, BY YEAR.

Language Characteristic	1975-76 (N=61)	1976-77 (N=67)
Parents have some knowledge of Ukrainian		
-the mother only	18.0	17.9
-the father only	14.8	22.4
-both parents	52.5	32.8
-neither parent	14.8	25.4
-mother has knowledge of Ukrainian, information on father missing	0.0	1.5
Parents speak Ukrainian fluently		
-the mother only	14.8	10.4
-the father only	16.4	23.9
-both parents	39.2	26.9
-neither parent	29.5	38.8
Parents can read and write Ukrainian		
-the mother only	21.3	10.4
-the father only	11.5	4.5
-both parents	34.4	9.0
-neither parents	32.8	76.1

whom data was available (N=62), neither parent could understand oral Ukrainian, in 15% both parents could speak and understand Ukrainian 'very well'. Moreover, while just one parent of all the program students claimed to be able to read and write Ukrainian 'very well', in only 18% of the families did neither parent have 'no knowledge' of written Ukrainian.

Finally, in 1978-79 the public board's profile of the language backgrounds of pupils in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program showed that 48% (N=72) of the parents of children in grades two through five indicated that only English was spoken in the home (E.P.S.B. 1979:5). In comparison to the 38.2% (E.P.S.B. 1975:4) reported for the program's first year of operation, one sees a decline in the use of Ukrainian in the home of 9.8% (i.e., 48% versus 38.2%). But, in the 1977-78 school year only 36% of the mothers (N=25) and an equal proportion of the fathers (N=25) 'never' spoke Ukrainian to their children in grade one of the bilingual program (E.P.S.B. 1978:4). This represents an increase in the use of Ukrainian in the homes of bilingual program children of 2.2% (i.e., 38.2% versus 36%) over 1974-75. Though this increase is small, it may represent a levelling off in the use of Ukrainian by the parents of children in the bilingual program. One can only state with confidence, in the absence of further data, that most children who have enrolled in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program come from families where at least one parent understands and speaks Ukrainian.

Beyond that insipid conclusion, there appears to be a decline in the Ukrainian abilities of parents of grade one students entering the program. Yet, based upon the Edmonton Catholic School Board data for 1974-75 (Tomko 1975), parents of bilingual program students in the first year of the program spoke Ukrainian more often to their children and more often in general than did Ukrainian parents of non-program students. Thus, the decline in the use of Ukrainian by parents of bilingual program children may represent a movement to the norm for Ukrainian families in general. In other words, Ukrainian language use of parents of program students and of non-program students may be becoming less dissimilar.

In the first year of the program both boards asked the parents of students in the program a number of questions concerning their participation in the Edmonton Ukrainian community (e.g., attending Ukrainian cultural events, membership in Ukrainian social or service organizations, and use of the Ukrainian language media). The Catholic board summarized these findings as follows: "In terms of [this community] background information, ... use of Ukrainian customs and belonging to Ukrainian interest groups, the Ukrainian parents having children in the program were no different in these characteristics than the Ukrainian parents not having children in the program" (Tomko 1975:25). However, the Ukrainian Bilingual Association, in its summer of 1977 study found significant differences with respect to involvement in the Ukrainian community between parents whose children were enrolled in the bilingual program and those whose children were not enrolled. The parents of children enrolled in the program were found to be more than three times as likely to claim to be involved in the Ukrainian community of Edmonton than parents whose children were not in the program (Petryshyn 1978:115).

The students enrolled in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program are generally of middle class background. In the first year of the program's operation the Edmonton Public School Board's researchers (Muller et al. 1977:477) concluded, using an occupational classification scale of their own device, that the "pupils were considered to come from a middle class environment." In later years both Edmonton school boards determined the socio-economic status (SES) of the students in the program on the basis of the Pineo and Porter (1967) Occupational Prestige scores of the 'major wage earner' in their families. This information is summarized in Table 9.

Table 9 indicates that the parents of students in the bilingual program can be characterized, as a group, as middle-class. Scores of 46 and above as shown in Table 9 place these parents in an occupational rank with proprietors, managers and officials in small businesses, and well above skilled workers or clerical and sales people.

The Petryshyn (1978:109) study compared the SES of fathers of students in the bilingual program with that of the fathers of Ukrainian students not in the program using the Blishen-McRoberts (1976) scale. As can be seen in Table 10, little difference was found between the two groups of fathers. In any case, the majority of fathers of students in the bilingual program (56.4%) were ranked above 40 on the Blishen-McRoberts index, indicating again that most of these families were middle or upper class.

Table 9

MEAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF STUDENTS IN THE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM AS DETERMINED BY PINEO AND PORTER OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE SCORES

	Board	
Year	Public	Catholic
1974-75	--	47.0
1975-76	46.0*	48.9
1976-77	47.2*	49.1
1977-78	46.8*	51.5
1978-79	--	52.1**

* Grade one students only

** Does not include grade one students

Table 10

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS INTERVAL DISTRIBUTION OF FATHERS OF STUDENTS IN THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM AND NOT IN THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM, USING THE BLISHEN-MCROBERTS INDEX, IN PERCENTAGES, UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL ASSOCIATION SUMMER PROJECT, 1977

Class	Socio-economic Index	Fathers of Students in Bilingual Program (N=158)	Fathers of Students not in Bilingual Program (N=59)
Upper	70+	6.3	5.1
	60.00-69.99	12.7	11.9
Middle	50.00-59.99	20.9	18.6
	40.00-49.99	16.5	18.6
Lower	30.00-39.99	19.0	27.1
	Below 30	17.1	13.6
	No Response	6.3	5.1
	Unemployed	1.3	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0

In addition, the levels of educational attainment of the parents of the program students are relatively high. Table 11 indicates that in 1977 both the fathers and mothers of students in the first grade of the bilingual program offered by the public system (E.P.S.B. 1978:3) were more likely to have graduated from high school and to have had some post secondary training than the average Albertan (Statistics Canada 1980:47).

Table 11

A COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PARENTS OF GRADE ONE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM STUDENTS AND THE ALBERTA POPULATION (AGED FIFTEEN AND OVER), IN PERCENTAGES, THE EDMONTON PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1977-78

	Parents		Alberta
Educational Level Achieved	Fathers N=59	Mothers N-61	
Less than high school graduation	35.6	27.9	58.0
High school graduation	25.4	23.0	11.3
Post secondary training	39.0	49.2	30.7

Moreover, the detailed data given in Table 12 with respect to the parents of students in the bilingual program of the Edmonton Catholic School System during the 1978-79 school year show that many of these parents are university graduates. In fact, 33.7% of the fathers and 22.9% of the mothers had completed

Table 12

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PARENTS OF STUDENTS IN THE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM, IN PERCENTAGES, IN THE EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1978-79

	Grade Level of Student											
	1		2		3		4		5		ALL	
Parents' Educational Attainment	Fathers N=51	Mothers N=53	Fathers N=42	Mothers N=43	Fathers N=32	Mothers N=32	Fathers N=18	Mothers N=19	Fathers N=29	Mothers N=28	Fathers N=172	Mothers N=175
Schooling up to Grade 9	11.8	11.3	11.9	4.7	6.3	3.1	5.6	5.3	13.8	17.9	10.5	8.6
Schooling between Grades 10-12	37.3	34.0	26.2	39.5	18.8	34.4	38.9	36.8	34.5	28.6	30.8	34.9
Institute of Technology or Business Program	21.6	26.4	21.4	20.9	21.9	25.0	22.2	10.5	20.7	39.3	21.5	25.1
Some University Courses	--	3.8	7.1	9.3	6.3	12.5	--	21.1	3.4	3.6	3.5	8.6
University Degree Completed	29.4	24.5	33.3	25.6	46.9	25.0	33.3	26.3	27.6	10.7	33.7	22.9

a university degree. These percentages compare very favourably to the 8.6% of all Albertans 15 years of age and over who had completed a post-secondary degree in 1977 (Statistics Canada 1980: 47). Notwithstanding the fact that one would expect the age group (approximately 25-40) which might have children in elementary school to have attained higher educational levels than the average for all Albertans aged 15 or more (as shown in Table 11), the figures in Table 12 reveal that bilingual program students come from highly educated families.

Further, the students in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program appear to be at least as intelligent as their counterparts in the regular school program. In the first year of the bilingual program (1974-75) researchers for the Edmonton Public Board concluded on the basis of a mean Stanford-Binet score of 111.56 for the group that the bilingual program students were of "above average mental ability" (Muller et al. 1977:477). In the next three years the "academic readiness" of all grade one students entering the program in the E.P.S.B. was assessed by means of the "Metropolitan Readiness Test". During the same period, 1974-1978, the Catholic system administered a "Primary Mental Ability Test" to all grade one students entering its program. The results of these tests and their comparison with system-wide scores are given in Table 13.

As Table 13 reveals, in all years and on both tests the bilingual program students scored higher than the system-wide average. The scores presented in Table 13 might be expected of children from predominantly middle class, highly educated families.

Table 13

MEAN STUDENT SCORES ON THE METROPOLITAN READINESS AND PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITY TESTS

	Metropolitan Readiness Test, E.P.S.B.		Primary Mental Ability Test, E.C.S.B.	
Year	Bilingual Program	System Wide	Bilingual Program	System Wide
1974-75	--	--	115.3	108.7
1975-76	66.3	64.0	114.1	108.5
1976-77	71.8	64.7	114.0	107.9
1977-78	66.6	65.2	113.7	108.7

However, the public board found no significant difference between bilingual program students and regular program students in schools which offered the bilingual program on the "Canadian Cognitive Abilities Test" for the years 1976 through 1979. Nonetheless, the results of these tests taken together suggest that in general the students in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program have average or slightly above-average mental ability and academic readiness.

Although little can be confidently concluded concerning the differences between parents of children in the bilingual program and Ukrainian parents with children in the regular school program, some tentative inferences can be drawn. First, parents of the former children appear to participate in the Edmonton Ukrainian community somewhat more than do non-program Ukrainian parents, and they apparently speak Ukrainian more often at home. Secondly, it would seem improbable that non-program Ukrainian parents are as highly educated as the bilingual program parents, although the Petryshyn (1978:111) study found no difference in levels of educational attainment between program and non-program parents in its 1977 sample. In other areas the data are inconclusive, unavailable, or show no differences. In summary, then, the students enrolled in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program can be characterized as having at least average mental ability and as being members of quite highly-educated, middle class families in which some Ukrainian is spoken. In most other respects, the characteristics of students in the program appear not to be remarkably different from their counterparts in the regular program.

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE AND THE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM

Introduction

In this chapter the four paradigms of community power structure which were outlined in Chapter III will be consecutively applied to the data presented in Chapters IV and V. Each paradigm will be used as a framework for the analysis of the power dynamics surrounding the community processes antecedent to the opening of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program as well as the consequent denouement described in Chapter V and Appendix A. The next chapter will attempt a composite analysis which will hopefully overcome the shortcomings of the existing paradigms.

To facilitate the comparison of these paradigms and to determine the extent of their applicability to the data at hand, they have been classified according to three dimensions of power. The first dimension is concerned with the 'configuration' of the community power structure prescribed by each paradigm; the second with the 'indices' of power in the community; and the third with the 'context' in which such power is seen to be actualized by each paradigm. These dimensions are summarized in Table 14.

As the table indicates, the elite paradigm views the power configuration of communities as essentially pyramidal in that a dominant elite sits at the upper vertex while an inert mass occupies the base. The pluralist paradigm sees community power as issue relevant and as being dispersed to many interest groups. The class hegemony paradigm of course characterizes community

Table 14

DIMENSIONS OF POWER IN COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE PARADIGMS

DIMENSION	PARADIGM			
	Elite	Pluralist	Class Hegemony	Structural Marxist
Configuration	Pyramidal - Dominant Elite - Inert Mass	Dispersed - Many Interest Groups - Issue Relevant	Class Based - Capitalist Ruling Class - Subordinate Working Class	Structurally Differentiated - Capitalist Economy - State Apparatus
Indices	Reputation Position Wealth	Decisional	Societal Rewards	Policy Outcomes
Context	Private Influence	Legislative Assemblies	Ruling Class Dominance	Economy/Polity Interface

power as deriving from class divisions -- i.e., the capitalist class rules the subordinate working class. The structural Marxist view can be seen to structurally differentiate (e.g., distinguishes between power arrangements in social structures) community power along the axis of the capitalist economy and along the axis of the state apparatus. Thus, each paradigm typifies the structure of community power in a relatively consistent, though not necessarily static, manner.

Although the configuration of power delineated by the four paradigms schematize the basic arrangements of community power, they do not of themselves specify the indices which initially identify the power so arranged. As might be expected, the different power configurations posited by the different paradigms make use of different indices of power. The elite paradigm, in its various forms, uses reputational and positional indices as well as wealth in determining power. Though these three indices may appear to be discrete they tend to function as a single power index within the elite paradigm. For example, while one variant of the elite paradigm may stress the reputational index of power, it usually follows that the individual power holders so determined coincidentally hold powerful positions in various organizations and are relatively wealthy or at least 'well off'. In any event, the elite paradigm as characterized in Table 14 can make use of one or all of these power indices. Moreover, although the power structure configurations which would result from the exclusive use of one of these indices might differ in precise form, their basic arrangement would remain pyramidal.

Decisional indices are judged most appropriate by pluralist analysts of community power. Whenever a decision affecting the community is made within the community, community members participate in that decision. The degree to which one successfully advances one's interests in the decision-making process is the fundamental index of how much power an individual or group of actors has exercised. For example, if a mayor of a city succeeds in changing the zoning of a residential area to allow the construction of a commercial building over the protests of the area's alderman, then the mayor may be seen to have exercised more power than the alderman. However, although the alderman may have 'lost' that particular battle he/she may have exercised considerable power in the struggle and might well 'win' out on another decision.

The general distribution of societal rewards serve as an indication of power in the class hegemony paradigm. Whatever the decisional processes involved or the substantive issues at hand, those community members who are the benefactors of the existing distribution of wealth are said to be most powerful. In other words, material and social rewards are 'proof' of one's power. It is, in the minds of class hegemonists, incongruous to conceive of persons or groups of persons who are somehow socially powerful, yet are not the recipients of a measurably disproportionate volume of the rewards that the society has to offer. Wealthy members of a community use their power (which derives largely from their wealth) to maintain their wealth.

Though the structural Marxist approach to community power would concur that in the long run the capitalist system works to the material benefit of the capitalist class, it suggests that short term policy outcomes which result from the interplay between the capitalist economy and the state apparatus may not be to the immediate benefit of the capitalist class. For example, the state may sponsor increases in minimum wage levels over the protestations of factory owners. However, the resultant quiescence won from workers and the accompanying stabilization of the labor market can be of great advantage to the capitalist system in the long run. In any event, the state is seen to have its own power and cannot be seen as merely an instrument of the powerful capitalist interests in the community.

While the indices outlined in Table 14 delineate the notion of power each paradigm utilizes in its analysis, they do not reveal where or in what context such power is enacted. Community power in the elite paradigm (indicated by reputation, position and relative wealth) is seen to be exercised within the context of private influence exercised by individuals on an interpersonal basis. That is to say, individuals or groups of individuals can influence each other by informal means and do not have to rely upon any legally sanctioned formal assembly in which to wield power. For example, an individual can influence or even control some aspects of the behavior of another individual or group through the use of social and economic sanctions or rewards. Individuals may find it in their best interests to accommodate their actions to suit those more powerful than themselves even though there is no legal or normative compulsion to do so.

In the pluralist conception of community power structure power, by definition, must be exercised within the context of a formal legislative assembly such as a municipal government or school board. The members of these governing assemblies, as individuals or representatives of others, routinely make the important decisions which directly affect the community at large. Hence, when dealing with the power structure of a community one need only consider the dynamics of the formal decision-making processes surrounding community-wide issues in the legally constituted legislative assemblies of the community.

The context in which the class hegemony paradigm addresses community power is that of ruling class dominance of the subordinate labouring classes. When examining the exercise of power in the community one should focus upon the processes by which the capitalist ruling class maintains its dominance over the working class and control of the economic, political and social life of the community. Again, while the emphasis upon ruling class dominance in this approach appears to disregard the reactive, potential power of the proletariat, the dynamics of class conflict are not completely denied. In fact, the ruling class must often exercise its power to suppress or oppose working class interests. In any event, however, the capitalist ruling class is seen to be the holder of most of the power in the community. For its part, the structural Marxist view of community power structure situates power at the economy/polity interface. In this approach the most important exercise of power occurs in the context of the negotiations or conflicts between capitalist economic interests and the regulatory or policy forming arms of the state. The result of these negotiations or the resolution of economy/polity conflicts will have the most profound impact upon the direction and form of community development.

Each paradigm of community power structure has been classified as to three dimensions of power: configuration, indices and context. The elite paradigm concerns itself with the private influence of individuals as indicated by their reputation, wealth or position in the community, and concludes that typically the power structure of communities is pyramidal. The pluralist paradigm views decisions made in formal legislative assemblies as the most important exercise of power in the community. From this perspective pluralists generally find that the structure of power in communities is best described as being dispersed. Class hegemonists regard the dominance of the ruling class and the resultant unequal distribution of societal rewards as evidence that the power structure of communities is based upon fundamental (capitalist/proletariat) class divisions. Policy outcomes which have their genesis at the interface of the economy and polity are held by structural Marxists to be the best indicators of community power structure. Utilizing this conception of power, the structural Marxist paradigm describes community power as being structurally differentiated (i.e., posits a relative autonomy for power arrangements in each structure) between the capitalist economy and the state apparatus.

Before applying each of the four community power structure paradigms as explanatory frameworks to the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, a few comments must be made concerning the dimensions of power outlined in Table 14. With respect to the context of community power, it must be remembered that consideration of the national power arrangement will put local power arrangements in a 'context' broader than those suggested in Table 14. Also, the power dimensions of configuration, indices, and context are isolated not because they exhaust the possible dimensions of community power but rather because they are suitable dimensions about which comparisons and contrasts between the paradigms can be made.

Analyses of the Development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program

In this section the four community power structure paradigms, as characterized by the three dimensions of power, will be used as a framework for separate analyses of the data presented in the previous two chapters concerning the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. In each instance the analysis will be as true to its guiding paradigm as is practicable. While it is hoped that these analyses will not appear 'forced' given the data at hand, it will become apparent that each paradigm, in some instances, will unavoidably have to stretch its explanation of the data to fit its interpretation. When these analyses are completed an effort will be made to reconcile the most compatible elements of each of the paradigms into a composite analysis which will hopefully avoid the shortcomings of the individual paradigms in isolation. Moreover, this composite analysis may provide the basis for the emergence of a new paradigm to supersede the four that presently exist.

An Elite Analysis

In analyzing the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program and its development from the perspective of the elite paradigm of community power structure one should begin by examining the indices of power it utilizes. As has been outlined previously the elite paradigm relies upon either or all of the indices of reputation, position, or wealth. In doing so, it locates power in individuals or small groups of individuals. The question that first needs to be answered concerns the elite status of the prime movers in the establishment of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. Could these persons be characterized as members of the Edmonton/Northern Alberta elite, or at least as the elite of the area's Ukrainian sub-community?

The use of Hunter's reputational methodology to locate powerful individuals in the Northern Alberta community might well have led to an entirely different list of persons than those who were instrumental in establishing the bilingual program. However, this does not appear to be the case, especially if one considers only the Ukrainian sub-community. Two members of the U.P.B.C.'s Multicultural Committee were well-known Edmonton lawyers. One was the president of the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party while the other was active in city politics and had run for alderman. Thus, both were quite highly visible in political circles. In fact, the U.P.B.C. took the bilingual education cause upon themselves because they felt that they were "the leaders of the community" and had the social and political resources to get the job done. The first chairman of the Multicultural Committee felt that its members were at the "top" of the Ukrainian community.

That other 'knowledgeable' people also saw the U.P.B.C. as 'top' leaders in the Ukrainian community was evident. The provincial minister of labour, also a member of the Northern Alberta Ukrainian community, referred to the members of the Multicultural Committee as the "leadership of this ethnic group". As a non-Ukrainian, the minister of advanced education did not know if the Multicultural Committee was "truly representative" of the Northern Alberta Ukrainian community. While he was unsure whether the committee's members were the "legitimate spokesmen" for their community, he felt they were successful because of their stature as "individuals" in the broader Northern Alberta community. They were perceived, then, in the words of the separate school board superintendent as "high powered people".

It would appear that had the reputational methodology been used in determining the 'top' leaders in the Northern Alberta community and the Ukrainian sub-community, it is entirely possible that the leading members of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee would have received some mention. The U.P.B.C. was largely made up of established, leading businessmen of Edmonton, successful private lawyers and other 'professional' men. Hence, such positional indices tend to confirm that these individuals were in leadership roles not only in the Ukrainian community circles, but also in the general Edmonton community. In any event, according to the indices of reputation and position, the individuals in the Multicultural Committee were very similar to those isolated by Hunter in Atlanta.

The elite status of the members of the Multicultural Committee was also indicated by the fact that although they were not 'wealthy', they were chosen from amongst the most "well-heeled" members of the U.P.B.C., and were definitely from the upper-middle class. Consequently, it would seem that according to the combined indices of reputation, position, and perhaps wealth, the members of the Multicultural Committee of the U.P.B.C. could be seen as on the inside of the Edmonton power elite.

It is also fairly evident that the members of the Multicultural Committee exercised whatever power they possessed within the context of 'private influence'. The Multicultural Committee claimed many "good connections" with the Social Credit government that amended the School Act to allow Ukrainian as a language of instruction. A number of M.L.A.'s, cabinet ministers, a special assistant to the premier, and the premier himself were "good friends" or at least "well known personally" to various members of the Multicultural Committee. Thus, the committee had "direct access" to the government and so made "direct representation" to government members on behalf of the proposed Ukrainian school program. These representations were made during numerous "informal personal discussions" with the premier and others in the Social Credit caucus.

When the Progressive Conservatives took over the reins of power, the Multicultural Committee found it had "even better connections" with the new government than it had had with the previous government. The first chairman of the committee "went directly", with "no intermediaries", to his "close personal friend", the new premier, to "advise him" on the proposed English-

Ukrainian Bilingual Program. Other "valuable political contacts" held by other members of the Multicultural Committee included Ukrainian M.L.A.'s and cabinet ministers with whom "very close friendships" were held. The Multicultural Committee members "shared relationships with the key ministers" involved in the establishment of the bilingual program and were able to "cash in" on these relationships to extract a commitment from the government on this issue. As a result of the personal friendships and political ties, the Multicultural Committee was able to exert "profound pressure" on the cabinet committee on education. There is no doubt that the considerable private influence which the members of the Multicultural Committee directed toward government members was a major factor leading to the establishment of the bilingual program.

In addition to contacts at the provincial level the Multicultural Committee had many "private contacts" with "personal friends" on the school boards. Both the public and separate school superintendents and other administrative personnel were "well known" on an individual basis to those on the Multicultural Committee. "Individual trustees were lobbied" and administrators for each board were contacted "informally" to discuss the proposed bilingual program. Private sessions with "old school mates", "fellow lawyers" and other "friends" on the boards were held frequently.

In summary, then, though formal meetings and presentations of official briefs to all levels of government were numerous, the outcomes of many of these encounters were in effect predetermined as a result of the extreme private influence applied by the Multicultural Committee. For example, one member of the committee confided that a meeting with the cabinet committee on education was "already decided before we attended, ... through a little lobbying on the side and through friendships". Again, it is clear that much of the power of the Multicultural Committee was enacted within the context of private influence.

The Multicultural Committee acted as if they were a power elite and consciously excluded the ordinary members of the Ukrainian community from any participatory role in the effort to establish the bilingual program. This is evidenced by the fact that the Multicultural Committee "decided to act unilaterally" and not bring their proposals to the community until "afterwards". The committee members felt that "it was not important to get great numbers of organizations behind us", and that in any case other Ukrainian organizations were "not sufficiently aware of the kinds of methods that would be best to use". Though the numerous briefs presented to the various levels of government were "endorsed by various groups, ... there was no presentation of the briefs to any of these groups". Despite this the briefs were seen as being "from the whole Ukrainian community" of Northern Alberta. The Social Credit premier thought that "a large group" had presented these briefs, while the cabinet committee on education for the succeeding Progressive Conservative government "did not perceive that the briefs and presentations came from the U.P.B.C. on its own".

The minister of education agreed to, and committed funds to the pilot project though he "did not even know ... how many people were going to register". He simply "believed the members of the Multicultural Committee when they assured him that there was other support around the community". The school boards were likewise "not certain the program would be supported by the Ukrainian community because it was only a certain portion of the Ukrainian community, professional people, who were pushing for it". Yet the cabinet committee on education attributed the success of the Multicultural Committee's endeavors not to "its being from an established group, but as a function of the individual people involved". Indeed, if the Multicultural Committee had approached the government in "any other way", their proposals "would not have worked". Thus, it seems that the government ministers felt that the approach taken by the elite Multicultural Committee was most appropriate, and that active community support was not an important part of the process.

The circumstances described above lend support to the notion that configuration of the community power structure in this instance may well be conceived of as being pyramidal. That is to say, an elite group can effectively pursue its goals with little or no input from the masses. The members of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee were elite members of the Ukrainian subcommunity and by the indices of the elite paradigm could also be included in a general Edmonton or Northern Alberta elite. The power this group exercised upon all levels of government was clearly within the context of private influence. Friendships and personal prestige were used as levers to move the individual members of the provincial cabinet committee on education towards acceptance of the Multicultural Committee's proposals. The 'ordinary' members of the Edmonton Ukrainian community were in fact an 'inert mass' with little or no participation, direct or otherwise, in the period leading up to the bilingual program's formation. It was only after the department of education had agreed to fund the bilingual pilot project that the 'grass roots' kindergarten movement emerged.

The data presented in the preceding chapters lend itself easily to an elite interpretation. An elite group (the Multicultural Committee), whose members were powerful individuals (by reputation, position, and to some extent wealth), had used its private influence to advance its cause (the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program). This group did so without any significant input from those they presumedly represented. That the group was successful in attaining its goals without rank-and-file participation reveals that the power structure of the community in which the group functioned was not necessarily predicated upon mass participation. Indeed, it would be apt to characterize the community power structure as pyramidal (i.e., dominant elite(s) and inert mass) as does the elite paradigm.

A final question which should be addressed concerns the type of bilingual program which was created as a result of the Multicultural Committee's effort. If the elite interpretation is correct one would expect that the Multicultural Committee, as an elite group, would be able to force the implementation of a bilingual program appropriate to its needs and wants. Though it is obvious that the Multicultural Committee was acting upon what has been termed a 'maintenance' motivation (see Chapter II), the underlying 'ideological approach' which guided it is more elusive. Again, as outlined in Chapter II, there are a number of possible ideologies to which the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee might adhere, including a 'nationalistic' position. This nationalistic ideology is said to be typified by an emphasis upon the 'glorious history' and 'heroes' of the ethnic group involved as well as a belief in a 'national mission'.

As members of an elite group the individuals in the Multicultural Committee saw themselves as leading forces in their mission to protect the Ukrainian language and culture from the "danger of extinction". Because of the Russification taking place in the homeland, the Multicultural Committee felt that Northern Alberta could well prove to be one of the globe's last vestiges of the Ukrainian peoples. As elite individuals in the Ukrainian community of Northern Alberta the members of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee worked as if it were their destiny to pursue their mission. In fact, a member of the committee was characterized by one observer as being "almost messianic" in his struggle for the Ukrainian cause. In any case, the Multicultural Committee acted as a dynamic leading force which did not rely upon democratic input from the population it sought to help, but rather appointed itself to a leadership role and pursued a 'nationalistic' ideology as typified by its intense opposition to Russification. This 'nationalistic' ideology is not to be interpreted in the narrow sense of advocating nationhood for a 'free Ukrainian state', but refers to the feeling of pride in one's heritage and a commitment to the continuance of its legacy.

In addition to pursuing maintenance goals based upon the above ideology, the Multicultural Committee pursued the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program for 'enrichment' reasons as well. The members of the Multicultural Committee were convinced, as were others, that the students in the bilingual program would develop the superior mental abilities said to be associated with bilingualism (see Bilash, 1979 for example). This type of enrichment motivation (as discussed in Chapter II) is typical of elite groups who desire 'additional educational and cultural exposure' for their 'privileged' offspring.

When conceptualizing the Multicultural Committee as an elite group it is easy to perceive its members as being motivated by enrichment and the appropriate maintenance goals as per above. Did, however, the committee succeed in getting a program established which would satisfy these motivations? The data outlined in Appendix A indicate that despite the growth in student enrollments in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program and the apparent increase in participation rates the absolute numbers enrolled remain relatively small (from 96 in the program's first year to 838 in 1980-81 for all grades and in both school systems). Not only is the enrollment limited, but the program is an integral part of a hierarchically ordered system of Ukrainian schooling in the province of Alberta. The system begins with the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program and ends with courses supervised by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta. In this sense, then, the bilingual program is the first step on a ladder leading up to an advanced level of study for an elite few.

The program has also proven to be a financial burden for many families. There have been, especially in the program's first few years of existence, substantial costs associated with the program, most notably transportation, which were to be born in part by parents. A result of these costs was to select out children of families who were unable or unwilling to pay out the necessary extra monies. Indeed, as has been shown in Chapter V, a large majority of students in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program come from middle or higher socio-economic status families. Moreover, the parents of children in the bilingual program are highly educated; many fathers and mothers having university degrees. Hence, the program is at least in these regards serving a fairly 'elite' clientele.

The bilingual program stresses literacy in the 'national' or 'high' form of the Ukrainian language as opposed to conversational skills in the various dialects. As discussed in Chapter II, this is to be expected of a program oriented towards an elite form of schooling. On the other hand, there is no greater emphasis upon 'national' in contrast to 'folk' culture (see discussion in Chapter II) in the program. Though one would expect that the program might spend more time on the process of Russification taking place in the Ukraine than is the case in the program, one explanation for this lack of emphasis is to be found in the inadequate supply of appropriate historical texts and resource materials.

Lastly, the students in the bilingual program consistently scored slightly higher than students in the regular program on general ability and performance tests. While the differences are not great, it is evident that the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program is not one which attracts poorer students. Further, students withdrawing from the program do so most often because of academic problems. In many of these cases parents who have withdrawn their children see the regular program as somewhat less demanding and thus hope the change will result in improved achievement for their children.

While the above observations do not necessarily support the conclusion that the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program is an elite program, they do indicate that the program tends to attract better than average students from well-educated, higher S.E.S. families. In any event, the program as it is now constituted would appear to be well suited to meet the enrichment as well as the desired maintenance goals of the elite U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee.

A Pluralist Analysis

Power in the pluralist paradigm of community power structure is enacted within the context of formally delegated legislative assemblies. A review of the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program reveals that a series of crucial decisions were made by the provincial government and the Edmonton school boards.

Initially the Social Credit government decided to change the School Act in 1971 to allow the use of 'other' languages as media of instruction in public schools. The cabinet of the time saw fit to make the required amendments because they felt it was in keeping with the directions suggested in former premier Manning's White Paper on Human Resources Development (1967) and that it was only a "semantical" change which would not meet with any opposition from the M.L.A.'s. In addition, at least a few cabinet members felt that there was some "political gain" to be had in making the amendments so close to election time. Hence, in amending the School Act the government took into account not only the reception the change would receive in the legislature, but also the impact it might have upon the electorate. This last point is further evidenced by the then premier's special assistant's comment that "25,000 votes is better than ... just the U.P.B.C.'s 200 strong". It can be argued from a pluralist perspective (as Dahl does in Who Governs?) that the rank-and-file of the Edmonton/Northern Alberta community participated indirectly, through their M.L.A.'s and their votes, in the formal decision to amend the School Act.

When the new government came into power in 1971, the provincial minister of labour urged the members of the Ukrainian community of Northern Alberta to "take your case to your elected representatives" at all levels. In an address to the Ukrainian Language Association in February of 1972 the minister pointed out that while briefs to commissions and other such representations had demonstrated the Ukrainian community's desire to preserve its language and culture, the "only way" their aspirations could actually be met would be through the decisions made in the municipal and provincial legislative assemblies. Hence, in the minister of labour's mind at least, the real locus of power in the community, the place "to get things done", was in the legislative assemblies. He was apparently correct. The minister of education found "considerable interest ... and wide support ... among the caucus". Indeed, the Multicultural Committee itself realized how important it was to have "somebody to plead our case in caucus" and lobbied heavily. As a result the government committed itself to the three year English-Ukrainian Bilingual Pilot Project.

Of course the final decision to allow the program to get underway came in late 1973 in the board rooms of the Edmonton Public and Catholic school systems. It was crucial to the Multicultural Committee to get approval in principle for the pilot project because it was only then that the minister of education would be able to act on his government's commitment. Had the school board decisions on whether to allow the project been negative, the entire effort up to that point would have gone for naught. That the trustees of both boards gave their unanimous approval to the notion of a bilingual program was a key indicator of the amount of power the Ukrainian community was able to exercise in this instance. On this issue the decisional index of power reveals that those supporting the bilingual program were able to marshal much more power than those who might have sought to oppose it.

The emphasis placed above upon the decisions made by formal political bodies is in keeping with the pluralist tenets that power is always directly applied (within such bodies) and is observable. 'Evidence' of one's power is to be found in the results of the observable, concrete decisions made in the various formal legislative assemblies within the community. From this perspective it is apparent that the champions of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program exercised considerable power in advancing their cause. What evidence, however, is there to suggest that this power is issue relevant and not transferable across 'scopes'?

The English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program is intimately connected to multiculturalism and, of course, schooling. Members of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee were quite active in both of these areas. The committee's first chairman had presented a brief relating to multiculturalism to the Royal Commission on Bilingual and Biculturalism as early as 1964 and was later chosen chancellor of the University of Alberta. The education professor and one-time chairman of the Multicultural Committee was an acknowledged authority on the education of minorities in Western Canada and was Prairie Regional Chairman of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. The Multicultural Committee's secretary was the first chairman of the Alberta Heritage Council. Other members of the U.P.B.C. had worked closely with both Edmonton school boards since the introduction of Ukrainian language courses in the late fifties. Obviously, then, on the issue of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program the Multicultural Committee could be construed as being a potentially powerful interest group due to its member's positions in multicultural organizations and their involvements in education.

Moreover, it can be argued that the members of the Multicultural Committee, because of their backgrounds and involvement, would not necessarily have been an equally effective pressure group on other issues. For example, it is doubtful that these individuals would have been able to demonstrate the same amount of power in the decision-making processes surrounding the expansion of Edmonton's Light Rail Transit System or the construction of a children's hospital for Northern Alberta. There is little to suggest that the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee would be a powerful lobby in very many of the important decisions made regularly at the municipal or provincial level. Certainly, some members held powerful positions which would enable them to exert considerable influence on decisions made on other issues, but as a group they were apparently ideally suited to the bilingual program issue. Of course this is not surprising in that they were selected on just that basis.

However, while there may be some grounds for speculation as to the ability of the Multicultural Committee to transfer its power into other community "games" (Long 1958), it is difficult to determine what, if any, other players were active in the multicultural/bilingual education game. The existence of 'opponents' is an important factor in the pluralist analysis in that one would like to point to 'winners' and 'losers' in decisions to demonstrate those who exercised 'more' or 'less' power respectively.

The only group which was mentioned by informants as a possible opponent to the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program were the francophones. Though some suggested that the demand for ethnic language-English bilingual programs in public schools was a result of the "backlash" against the recent push by the provincial as well as the federal governments for greater use of French in schools, the Multicultural Committee saw that it was in their own best interest to "defend" French language rights in the hopes that there might be a "natural progression" to similar rights for Ukrainian and other ethnic languages. Ethnic groups other than the Ukrainians were alluded to only infrequently by informants and when called upon both government and Multicultural Committee members were hard pressed to recall concrete examples of the demands or actions of these other players. The German community was perhaps the most active of these other ethnic communities, and there was at least diffuse support for bilingual school programs from ethnic groups in general. In any case, it is not possible to demonstrate that the Multicultural Committee exercised more power than some 'opponent' in winning any pivotal decision. However, it is clear that in winning the same language rights in education as the French without much active support from other ethnic groups, the Multicultural Committee did demonstrate its power in the community.

Of crucial significance to any pluralist analysis of community power structure is the concept of 'slackness' in the power system. As mentioned previously, the degree to which a system can be said to be slack depends upon the amount of diffuse, unused political resources which can be mobilized by interest groups to further their influence. While it is recognized that some groups may have greater access to greater resources than do others, pluralists hold that leading decision-makers become so by self-selection in any case. These individuals or groups take up the 'slack' power residual in the community power structure through the time and energy they devote to their cause. Can it be demonstrated that the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee did not act merely as an elite group in the way elite theorists would have us believe, but was in fact powerful as a result of the slack power it took up?

It would appear that the "climate of the times ... was ripe" for the emergence of powerful interest groups concerned with the issue of multiculturalism. In 1971 the federal government announced its multicultural policy which was generated out of the work of the R.C.B.B. The federal policy and the R.C.B.B. recommendations set up the conditions under which the opportunity existed for groups to act to translate the policy/recommendations into concrete proposals and programs. In effect, the great concern for multiculturalism at the time created a 'slackness' in the power system at least in the multicultural area. There was the promise of things to come if ethnic groups mobilized themselves and directed their energies towards feasible cultural goals.

The U.P.B.C. decided that the time was indeed right to "stand up" and make its aspirations known. Though the U.P.B.C. had not previously been very active in the fields of multiculturalism and education, it felt that as a group its members had the time and energy to attain the objectives they perceived to be important to the Ukrainian community. The Multicultural Committee would do the "leg work". Provincial government and school board officials alike recognized that the Multicultural Committee "worked so hard" and "made a tremendous effort" in presenting its case. The Multicultural Committee considered itself only a "stop-gap measure to fill an important need at the time". From the pluralist perspective, then, one can readily portray the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee as an interest group whose devotion of time and effort to its cause enabled it to take up the diffuse unused political power which was 'slack' in the community power structure. The Multicultural Committee emerged as an ad hoc issue specific group which seized the moment and took advantage of the political resources theretofore dormant in the community at large.

There was very little rank-and-file participation of ordinary members of the Ukrainian community in the movement to establish the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. Notwithstanding this lack of involvement, pluralists argue that "minority control by leaders within an association is not necessarily inconsistent with popular control" (Dahl 1961:100). Indeed, the seeming inertia of the general Ukrainian and Edmonton populace in this instance can be construed to be an indication of basic agreement and satisfaction with the proposals and programs of action of the Multicultural Committee. The members of the Multicultural Committee were confident that the Ukrainian community supported their efforts. The committee knew that the "kind of things" that it was advancing "would not be opposed by the community because they were traditional concerns". For example, the Multicultural Committee knew that the churches would support the bilingual program because they were losing young people who could not understand the sermons and masses.

The kindergarten movement was also seen as proof that there was other support in the community for the aims of the Multicultural Committee. The members of the cabinet committee on education perceived that the Multicultural Committee "was convinced" and "virtually certain" that there was general support for the bilingual program in the Ukrainian community. Hence, the absence of any significant rank-and-file input into the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee's proposals does not necessarily lend credence to an elite interpretation, but rather reveals that as leaders of the Ukrainian community the committee members were acting on the true desires and wishes of the community they represented.

In reviewing the processes leading up to the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program as they have been outlined above, it is clear that important decisions were made in formal governing bodies at each stage of the program's development. Using the 'legislative assembly' context and 'decisional' index, pluralists can demonstrate that the U.P.B.C. exercised considerable power in getting the School Act changed to allow instruction in languages other than English and French; in convincing the provincial government to commit itself to the three year pilot project; and finally in securing the school boards' approval in principle for the bilingual program.

As pointed out previously, pluralists can also readily demonstrate that the Multicultural Committee was an issue specific, ad hoc group organized as a "stop gap" measure to address a limited number of specific issues. Consequently a strong case can be made for the non-transferability of its power to issues other than its multiculturalism and bilingual program concerns. It seems reasonable to speculate that had the U.P.B.C. wished to pursue other, unrelated goals it would have organized an entirely different committee. This is not to say that a member of the Multicultural Committee might not be chosen to serve on such a committee as well. However, as a 'team' the Multicultural Committee's 'primary' role was restricted to the multicultural 'game' because of its very make-up.

Again, as discussed above there is also some evidence that the rank-and-file members of the Ukrainian community exerted at least indirect influence on the Multicultural Committee and the provincial government. In changing the School Act the government of the day did so with an eye to attracting Ukrainian votes in the upcoming elections. The members of the Multicultural Committee were in reality very well acquainted with the Ukrainian community of Northern Alberta and thus were fully aware of its wants. The emergence of the independent kindergarten movement offered some confirmation that the leaders in the Multicultural Committee did indeed know what the rank-and-file members of the Ukrainian community wanted.

All of the above lends support to the pluralist interpretation and its assertion that the configuration of community power is dispersed. The power of the Multicultural Committee was focused upon the multiculturalism/bilingual program issue and did not appear to be readily transferable across scopes. Most importantly, however, is the observation that the Multicultural Committee took the initiative and built up their own power out of the previously unused political resources lying dormant in the area of multiculturalism. In this instance the issue specific power resources were widely dispersed in the community, just waiting for energetic, dedicated interest groups to exploit. There was no precedent for the use of Ukrainian or other ethnic mother tongues as languages of instruction in the public school systems, nor was there a precedent for the establishment of a bilingual program of the type envisioned for the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. The U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee is a prime example of how any group with initiative can make use of the power dispersed in the community to effect reform or even radical changes in some area of community life.

The previous section discussed the motivation behind and the success of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program from the perspective of the elite paradigm of community power structure. In that section, an ideology which opposed Russification was posited as the rationale for the Multicultural Committee's maintenance motivation. In contrast, a pluralist analysis would more likely emphasize an 'ethnic-instrumental self-maintenance' ideology (see Chapter II) as its rationale. This ideology stresses collective action on the part of an ethnic group to preserve itself as a cultural behavioral entity. The more people who can be drawn into or whose participation can be maintained in the nexus of relationships which constitute the group's unique 'cultural-behavioral' identity, the more successful will the group be in sustaining this very identity. Thus, the Multicultural Committee's drive for the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program can be interpreted as a movement to encourage and expand the scope of popular participation in Ukrainian community life. Is the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program a mechanism by which such 'ethnic-instrumental self-maintenance' goals can be met?

Though fewer than 100 students enrolled in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in its first year of operation the numbers attending have grown every year. In addition, the participation rates as calculated in Appendix A suggest that an increasing proportion of the Edmonton Ukrainian community are sending their children to the program. Indeed, the very fact that the program is located in the public school systems suggests that the Multicultural Committee wanted to expand the scope of instruction in Ukrainian language and culture beyond that which had existed in the private part-time schools.

This expansion of Ukrainian education was hampered by the costs incurred by parents sending children to the program as a result of the need to transport students to the scattered schools which housed the program. However, the Multicultural Committee has been recently successful in convincing the provincial government to assume responsibility of all such costs. As one of the most frequent reasons given by parents to explain why they did not enroll their children in the program was the cost of transportation, the Multicultural Committee hopes that parents who would otherwise find these costs prohibitive will now enroll their children in the program. Evidently, the Multicultural Committee is working to ensure that the bilingual program is accessible to all members of the Ukrainian community regardless of wealth.

The structure of the program itself is not elitist. The course of study is designed to have precisely 50% of the day taught in the Ukrainian language. In practise teachers use more or less Ukrainian depending upon the language abilities of their students. Thus the program does not penalize those children who have a poor command of the Ukrainian language. Moreover, the Edmonton Public School Board has not found any 'program by ability interaction effects' in the operation of the bilingual program (see discussion in Appendix A). These interaction effects would mean that while students of lesser ability would find the bilingual program proportionately more difficult than the regular program, better able students would not -- i.e., in a sense discriminating against those of lesser ability. That this is not the case indicates again the program is suitable for students of all levels of ability and is not an elite program geared towards a limited number of exceptional students.

In summarizing the characteristics outlined in Chapter V of students enrolled in the program, one comes to the conclusion that with few exceptions the program students are a varied group with relatively heterogeneous backgrounds. For example, there is a good mix of 'parental generation' in Canada, family language use/ability, community involvement, etc. The only study which directly compared the S.E.S. background of students in the program with that of Ukrainian students not in the program found very little difference between the two groups (see Table 10). One can conclude, then, from a pluralist perspective that the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee was successful in its efforts to get a program underway which would meet its 'ethnic-instrumental self-maintenance' motives. The English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program is a free public school program which is attracting more students every year, and is of equal benefit to all students of Ukrainian origin regardless of family background.

A Class Hegemony Analysis

Any analysis of community structure from the class hegemony perspective must obviously regard the dominance of the ruling capitalist class over the subordinate working class as the most salient feature of power relationships within the community. The inequitable distribution of societal rewards across class lines is the index of power emphasized by those working in the class hegemony tradition. Thus, in a class hegemony analysis of the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program one would stress the impact of the class-based configuration of power upon the success of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee, as well as how the distribution of societal rewards attendant to the bilingual program was dependent upon and supportive of that configuration.

There can be little doubt that the individuals who made up the Multicultural Committee of the U.P.B.C. were functionaries for and/or members of the local ruling capitalist class. The general U.P.B.C. membership was of course made up of professionals and businessmen of varying wealth and power. The Multicultural Committee, in the words of one of its original members, was selected from among the "better educated, Canadian born, and fairly well-heeled individuals of the U.P.B.C. ... who had money [and] social resources". In other words, the Multicultural Committee was chosen after what amounts to a triple selection process: first, these individuals had to be members of the U.P.B.C.; second, they must have been from amongst the 'well-heeled', better educated, Canadian born members of the U.P.B.C.; and third, the individuals who ultimately formed the Multicultural Committee were selected from the second group. Consequently, one may be justified in referring to these individuals as representatives from the local ruling class in the Ukrainian sub-community. Moreover, some members of the Multicultural Committee might well have been included in any consideration of the Northern Alberta local ruling class regardless of their ethnic origin. The precise membership of the local ruling class is difficult to define even using Domhoff's work as a model. The problem of determining the size of the local ruling class will be discussed in the 'composite analysis' in the next chapter.

Were the various levels of government (i.e., provincial government, school boards, etc.) merely acting as instruments of the ruling class in the processes leading up to the establishment of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program? The members of the

U.P.B.C. decided amongst themselves that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, though quite capable of handling "internal" community affairs, was not "aware of the kinds of methods that would be best to use in approaching the school boards, the department of education and so on". Consequently, the U.P.B.C. decided to set up the Multicultural Committee as an operating arm (or 'power elite' in Domhoff's terms) to deal with elected officials in what they saw as an appropriate, effective way. As has been demonstrated earlier, the means by which the Multicultural Committee 'dealt' with the government was through the use of the influence and persuasiveness of its individual members. The committee's members had good connections and close friends on the school boards, the provincial caucus, the cabinet, and the premier's office. The Progressive Conservative premier was "directly advised" by the chairman of the Multicultural Committee. The chairman, as a prominent P.C. party member and personal friend of the premier, used his "leverage" on other cabinet members as well. Other members of the Multicultural Committee "cashed in" on "school tie" friendships and other "close relationships" with M.L.A.'s and trustees.

In the early going one member of the Multicultural Committee found it "extraordinary" how the provincial government acquiesced to the committee's demand that the School Act be changed. As things progressed, however, the Multicultural Committee members demonstrated how easy it was to "handle" the government. For example, the P.C. minister of education was "forced right along" into accepting the proposal for the pilot project and the government agreed "to implement as many of its [the Multicultural committee's] recommendations as possible". The superintendent of the Edmonton Separate School System was clearly correct in his observation that the provincial government was "well handled" by the Multicultural Committee. Thus, it would not be untenable to characterize the members of the Multicultural Committee as dominating their counterparts in the provincial government at least in the sense that profound influence was brought to bear on the government. Indeed, the Multicultural Committee decided what kind of program it wanted and virtually directed the provincial cabinet committee on education, the Department of Education, and the school boards on how to go about setting it up. From a class hegemony perspective, the Multicultural Committee's ability to use the various levels of the state apparatus as effectively as it did is predicated upon its being an operating arm of at least a portion of the local ruling class.

In the analysis above nothing has been said about the role of the working, subordinate classes in the development of the bilingual program. In fact, the only involvement from persons other than the ruling class members in the Multicultural Committee come belatedly and parenthetically with the kindergarten movement. The focus upon the Multicultural Committee is, then, for good reason. Composed as it was with individuals from the ruling class, the Multicultural Committee was in a position to initiate action with a reasonable expectation of achieving success. The Multicultural Committee seized the initiative and proceeded to exercise its influence on members of the provincial government, the school boards and other Ukrainian Community groups (e.g., the U.C.C.) in their quest for the bilingual program. Up to the point that the U.P.B.C. took control of the situation no one was actively pursuing the possibility of a program as extensive as the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. Thereafter, the Multicultural Committee continued to press for the program while other groups, including the governments, remained basically passive, reactive participants. Grass roots, working class participation was negligible.

It would seem feasible, then, to describe the configuration of community power in which the Multicultural Committee operated as class based in the manner suggested by the class hegemonists (i.e., with a capitalist ruling class holding power over a subordinate working class). Also, it would appear that the context of power stressed by the class hegemony paradigm, that of ruling class dominance, is particularly appropriate given the Multicultural Committee's influence on the various levels of government.

However, as the fundamental index of power in the class hegemony paradigm is that of 'societal rewards', the consequences of the Multicultural Committee's efforts must be assessed as to their reward value to the ruling class in general and to the Ukrainian members of that class in particular. In other words, one must determine if the bilingual program as it is constituted serves the interests of the working class members of the Ukrainian community or if it functions to the advantage of the capitalist ruling class.

The bilingual program is concerned with developing the highest level of proficiency in reading and writing skills in the literary form of the Ukrainian language. It is not oriented towards developing an adequate functional level of conversational knowledge of an appropriate community dialect. Since this is the case, the latent function of the program is more likely to be to increase the occupational potential of individual children of elite members of the Ukrainian community rather than promoting greater use of the Ukrainian language across the entire community. For example, graduates of the program who continue on to secondary and post-secondary Ukrainian courses of study will fill the newly created positions as teachers in the program, administrative/ research positions in the Department of Education, and as instructors in junior and senior high schools as well as possibly at the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies at the university level.

More significantly, however, may be the 'opportunity costs' borne by working class students both in the program and in the regular program. The program may well pre-empt other kinds of programs which might well aid working class students in overcoming the 'handicap' of low S.E.S. background. A program specifically directed towards improving the chances of all working class children in the school system would be of more benefit to working class students of Ukrainian descent than is the bilingual program.

For example, the cultural component of the bilingual program gives "highest priority to Ukrainian religious traditions" even in the public school system and disregards the socio-economic position of Ukrainians throughout their history in Canada. The present focus of the formal Ukrainian social studies curriculum also does not encourage class consciousness nor does it highlight the problems that have been encountered by Ukrainian (and other) immigrants and working people in Canada, although individual teachers may attempt to do so. When addressed in these terms, it can be said that the bilingual program's emphasis on ethnic consciousness serves to obscure the contradictory class interests within society and is an obstacle to the development of working class consciousness and collective action. Hence, the program can be seen to serve the interests not only of the Ukrainian members of the local ruling class, but of ruling class interests in the broadest sense.

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, the students in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program were predominantly third or fourth generation Canadians from middle-class, highly educated families. Students in the program have also been shown to have generally higher I.Q.'s, to score higher on academic readiness tests, and to perform better on regular curriculum achievement tests than those in the regular program (see Appendix A). The bilingual program would appear, then, to be an enrichment program for good students from fairly advantaged families. This type of program will at least do nothing to undermine the dominance of the ruling class, and will probably sublimate the reactive potential of working class interests into a harmless diversion such as ethnic consciousness.

Moreover, the program serves to prepare better students to continue on to more advanced studies in Ukrainian language, history, etc. Again, as is typically the case, these students will almost certainly be from the more advantaged families in the community. In any event, conceived as a societal reward, the bilingual program is merely a perquisite which is managed and enjoyed by the members of the ruling class.

A Structural Marxist Analysis

A structural Marxist analysis of the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, while promising, is perhaps the most elusive to articulate. As has been stated, the context of power in the structural Marxist paradigm is found at the economy/polity interface. More precisely, power is put to use in resolving conflicts or expediting cooperation between economic class interests and political state interests. Be this as it may, there are class based (economically determined) contradictions within each of these (economy and polity) structures which impinge upon the power mediations between the two. Further, while those who serve capitalist economic interests may be seen to ultimately dominate those preoccupied with the polity, the groups so involved are differentiated -- i.e., the persons who control the various arms of the state apparatus are different from those who control the economy. In fact, those who control the polity, while still working in the long term to preserve and perpetuate the perogatives of capital, enjoy a relative autonomy with respect to those who dominate the economic sphere.

In regards to the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, the structural Marxist paradigm would then focus upon how the class divisions within relevant community structures (i.e., education, government, ethnic groups, etc.) manifest themselves in the interrelationships between such structures. As the class hegemony analysis suggested, the individuals who formed the Multicultural Committee were members of or functionaries for the capitalist class in the Ukrainian community. In addition, the committee's secretary was the first chairman of the Alberta Heritage Council and the education professor was Prairie Regional Chairman of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. Thus, the Multicultural Committee was a dominant force not only within the Ukrainian community but in the larger multicultural arena as well. From a structural Marxist perspective it does not necessarily follow that these individuals would be equally powerful in other social institutions. Though there was considerable overlap in membership between the leadership of the Ukrainian community, the government, and the educational establishment, the negotiations pertaining to the bilingual program cannot be explained away as merely the internal workings of a monolithic ruling class.

The Ukrainian community leaders were able in large measure to convince the provincial government to change the School Act and later to go along with the pilot project because "the government was very much inclined to move in that direction" in any case. To the government the "climate of the times" was right for the introduction of Ukrainian and other languages as media of instruction in the public schools. Indeed, the Social Credit premier felt that his government had taken at least as much "initiative" with respect to multicultural programs as did the ethnic groups. The government also did not view the proposed program as a threat to the socio-economic status quo because it felt that similar "kinds of things were going on before" and had had no deleterious effects.

At the school board level, there had been considerable prior exposure to the Ukrainian language in classrooms. In 1959 Ukrainian language courses were introduced into public secondary schools, school buildings had long been used by the Ukrainian community for its Saturday language classes, and Early Childhood Services had recently opened the way for Ukrainian Kindergartens. Moreover, the Alternatives in Education Program was underway and innovations such as the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program were positively received. Consequently, the school boards did not perceive the proposed bilingual program as threatening to their established order. Thus both the provincial government and the school boards went along with the Multicultural Committee's proposals not because they were the instruments of ruling class dominance, but because they had autonomously, from their own perspective, come to see such things as bilingual programs in a favourable light.

Throughout the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program the specific policy outcomes (e.g., changing the School

Act and establishing the pilot project) were always consistent with or non-antagonistic towards the general interests of the capitalist class. Thus, though specific policy outcomes, as indices of power in the structural Marxist paradigm, show that the Multicultural Committee was a powerful group, it was so only as long as these policies were in keeping with general capitalist interests. Moreover, the bilingual program came about only after the controlling interests in each community structure -- the Ukrainian community, the educational system, and the provincial government-- confirmed that their internal order and particular positions were not undermined by the program. It is precisely because of the relative autonomy between community (economy/polity) structures that the Multicultural Committee, despite its influential members, had to work so long and hard to finally achieve the goals for which it strove.

As the above interpretation suggests, there is some support for the contention that the configuration of power in the Edmonton/ Northern Alberta community is structurally differentiated in the way structural Marxists would posit. It appears that though they did agree to the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program both the provincial government and school boards acted in relative autonomy with respect to the interests of the local and/or national ruling class. While it is clear that the Multicultural Committee negotiated very effectively, it is difficult to demonstrate that either level of government merely acted as an instrument of the capitalist ruling class. Conversely, however, it is equally difficult to demonstrate that these arms of the state apparatus acted in a way incongruent with general capitalist interests, even though those involved pursued their own particularistic, albeit class-based, interests in relative autonomy.

The members of the U.P.B.C., through the Multicultural Committee, strengthened their own positions as leaders in the Ukrainian community through their successful involvement in the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. These individuals gained public notice as champions of multiculturalism and minority ethnic rights without jeopardizing the established class system. That the provincial government and school boards were willing to go along with the bilingual program is evidence that the state apparatus found the program acceptable not only to its own interests but to the general interests of the ruling class and the capitalist system. Specifically, though it might not be obvious how this particular policy outcome would be of benefit to the local ruling class in the short term, it can be seen to contribute to the capitalist cause in the long term in the ways mentioned in the preceding class hegemony analysis (e.g., as part of a hierarchical school system, preparing middle class students for positions in that system, pre-empting 'conscientizing' programs for working class students, etc.).

Had the Multicultural Committee not been composed of members or functionaries of the capitalist ruling class, and had their proposed bilingual program somehow threatened the capitalist order, they would not have been able to secure the support of the provincial government and school boards. This is seen to be so despite the relative autonomy of the state from the capitalist economy, because structural Marxists recognize that although particular state policy outcomes need not find immediate favour with those controlling the economic sector, neither will such policies be adopted if they are detrimental to the capitalist enterprise in the long run. Thus, power, though actualized on a structurally differentiated basis (predominantly between the capitalist economy and the state apparatus), is adumbrated by the imperatives of class.

The English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in National Context

In attempting to locate the development of the Edmonton area English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in the context of the Canadian national power structure, one is drawn to the seminal work of John Porter (1965) and Wallace Clement's (1975) more recent work. These two studies represent the most comprehensive treatments of the topic of power in Canada. As shall be seen, however, linkages from these macro treatises on national power structure to the micro aspect of community power are difficult to forge.

In the Vertical Mosaic (1965) Porter theoretically posited a structural differentiation, much like the structural Marxists, between political power on the one hand and economic power on the other. Porter viewed each of these institutional orders as dominated by separate groups of elites who wield power in relative autonomy. Notwithstanding the above, Porter felt that while there typically are limited interchanges of elite personnel across institutional orders and that in the competition between elites power tends towards an equilibrium in the abstract, such was not quite the case in Canada. From his data Porter concluded that the corporate elite in the Canadian economic sector was able to extend its power into other sectors much more effectively than other more 'specialized elites', and often its members enjoyed simultaneous memberships in these other elites as well.

In updating the work done by Porter, Clement (1975) discovered that the apparent autonomy of corporate organization with respect to the state apparatus of which Porter wrote was mistaken. Clement found a much greater interpenetration of corporate, state, and political elites than had his predecessor. Much like the class hegemonists, Clement felt that a fairly compact "small upper class" ruled the country. Nevertheless, in the years since Porter's study, Clement (1975:117) found that there had emerged a tripartate elite formation at the top of the Canadian power structure. The first of these was the "indigenous" elite which was associated with Canadian controlled corporations. The second elite was a "comprador" group which was composed of senior managers of foreign controlled corporations. This comprador elite was subservient to the third group, the "parasite" elite who controlled major multinational corporations which dominated important sectors of the Canadian economy through branch plant operations. In a later study Clement (1977) demonstrated that direct U.S. foreign investment in Canada had grown to such proportions that one could speak of a more unified "continental" system of corporate power.

A few theorists (see Braungart 1978) have pointed out that community power structures must be located within a system beyond merely the national context, recognizing that over and above national penetration into local communities, extra-national or multinational corporations also have the power to directly influence local decision-making. In any event, little theoretical development or empirical research has taken place in elucidating the connections between community power structures and extra-national power. There is more work being done relating community and national power structures. As was discussed earlier in Chapter II, pluralists (Walton 1968, 1971) and Marxists (Domhoff 1978a) alike have attempted interpretive analyses of power structures at the community and national levels.

According to Walton the "horizontal" axis of community power (i.e., between community members) may be destabilized by the "vertical" axis of power which exists between community power and national power centers. The mediations between the two axes, however, are presently without elaboration in the pluralist framework. From a class hegemony perspective, Domhoff posits that the "national ruling class" is related to local elites in two ways. The national ruling class may have a "local branch" which it controls or there may be a relatively independent "local upper class" which must be dealt with on an ad hoc basis.

In the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in the Edmonton area there was very little significant, concrete national input into the process. Starting in the early 1960's, in response to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, ethnic groups across Canada reacted against their exclusion from the first three reports produced by the commissioners. As a result of this agitation (in which the Ukrainian community in the prairies played a large part) Book IV on the contribution of 'other' ethnic groups was issued. Consequently, the federal policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' was formed in late 1971.

The Alberta government of the time felt "considerable pressure" from the federal government to deliver provincial government services in French and to set up French language school programs. Again, local and provincial ethnic associations reacted against the emphasis on French and the relative neglect of the 'other' groups. Once more Edmonton area Ukrainians were among the most active groups pushing governments to act on the policy of multiculturalism. The education professor/Multicultural Committee member became active at the national level as a regional chairman of the federally sponsored Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. Partially as a result of his high profile on the national scene the education professor was later able to convince the federal minister responsible for multiculturalism to award a grant to help develop curriculum materials for the bilingual program.

Thus there was a continuous interplay between national policy and the local Ukrainian community in Northern Alberta. Initially the federal government sponsored the R.C.B.B. which provoked local Ukrainian reaction, then the commission responded to such reactions from ethnic groups by releasing Book IV of its report; later the federal policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' resulted from Book IV; and still later pressure on the federal government from the local community (both on M.P.'s directly and through national bodies such as the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism) to act upon this policy resulted in the minister responsible for multiculturalism granting funds to support the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Edmonton. However, while the federal policy may have created a climate precipitous to projects such as the bilingual program, for several reasons it can not be seen as an active participant in the development of the program.

Firstly, education is a provincial domain. Consequently, federal involvement in any school program must be circumlocutory and subject to provincial alteration and administration. This being the case, the federal government's direct participation in the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program was restricted to a few grants-in-aid which came after the fact. Also, the power of the Ukrainian community in Edmonton is not derived from the ethnic group's national power base (i.e., the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the national organization, was set aside in favor of the ad hoc U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee), but from the power its members enjoy locally (e.g., the group's geographic concentration locally and its position as a 'founding' group, as it were, in the province). In any case, one need not look much beyond the negotiations between the Ukrainian community of

Northern Alberta and the Alberta provincial government to discover the nexus of power relationships which are pertinent to the bilingual program's development.

In light of the foregoing, it may be advantageous, at least with respect to the bilingual program's development, to truncate the sphere of power to be analysed at the provincial level. This is not an arbitrary decision in that the Multicultural Committee can be seen to have operated in a power system characterized by a relatively autonomous local ruling class (i.e., as opposed to, in Domhoff's terms, a local branch of the national ruling class) made up of indigenous local elites (i.e., as opposed to what Clement called the comprador and parasite elites which had extra-national ties). This is not to say that there are no local members of the national ruling class or that there is not a comprador elite group which serves a parasite elite, but that from the data presented earlier, it does not appear that these types of groups actively (covertly or otherwise) involved themselves in the bilingual program's development. To iterate, while one would be remiss to neglect the national climate towards multiculturalism and the continental hegemony of multinational corporations, in the present context these kinds of indirect inputs from extra-community power centers are of only secondary importance in the development of the local bilingual program.

The next chapter will present a 'composite analysis' of the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, point out some of the weaknesses of the existing paradigms, and suggest a new paradigm for the study of community power structure.

CHAPTER VII

TOWARD A NEW PARADIGM OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

In the last chapter, the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program was analyzed from the perspectives of the elite, pluralist, class hegemony and structural Marxist paradigms of community power structure. These analyses were carried out in a relatively noncritical, nonreflexive manner in order that the fundamental differences between each would stand out.

One must be ever wary, however, of falling into the relativistic trap of assuming that each of the four paradigms may be, in their own right, 'correct' representations of 'truth'. As previously discussed, paradigms are not 'additive' in that they are holistic rather than partial explanatory systems. Thus, one paradigm cannot be correct at one level of interpretation while another is correct at another level, the sum of the two forming a correct picture of the whole. Moreover, two paradigms cannot be simultaneously correct on different aspects at the same level of explanation.

Hence, in the composite analysis which will be attempted below, a novel explanatory system will have to be wrought out of the seemingly incompatible elements of the four existing paradigms. It is, therefore, not enough that elements from the various paradigms be amenable to an explanation of the particular circumstances surrounding the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, such elements must also be compatible one with the other. Lastly, in attempting this composite analysis the three dimensions of power outlined previously (context, indices, and configuration) will be used to provide the framework for the structure of an emergent paradigm.

A Composite Analysis

The context of power emphasized by each of the paradigms is perhaps the most important of their characteristics in that once the context is established the indices and configuration follow quite readily. As has been demonstrated, the elite paradigm views private influence as the primary context of power in communities. In the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program there is ample proof that there was little rank-and-file participation of ordinary citizens in the attendant processes. Instead, profound private influence was exercised by the members of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee upon school board and provincial government members. Though power in this way was exercised in the context of private influence, such influence was directed towards elected members of publicly constituted legislative assemblies in order to persuade them to support the Multicultural Committee's position on key formal decisions. Consequently, pluralists may argue that even if private influence can be shown to have settled an issue before the formal decisions were made, these decisions were the ends towards which the means of private influence were directed. However, notwithstanding the importance of these formal decisions, private influence would appear to be a prior and more fundamental context for the exercise of power in that such influence extended beyond the formal assemblies (e.g., school boards and provincial legislature) and permeated their decision-making processes.

Yet this private influence itself is enacted within the broader context of social class and, thus, can be said to contribute to class domination. Specifically, while individuals who share common class memberships generally enjoy reciprocal influence with each other, members of dominant classes have considerable influence over members of subordinate classes. Both Marxist paradigms, the class hegemony and the structural, in spite of holding class contradictions as the crucial explanatory/predictive factor in capitalist society, differentiate contexts of power. The structural Marxist, obviously, differentiates power between economic and political/state structures. Within each of these institutional spheres class relations are manifest in parallel yet relatively autonomous fashion. Thus, the structural Marxist paradigm of community power 'horizontally' differentiates power (or distinguishes power on a horizontal axis between structures in the community). That is to say, many parallel instances of class contradictions/conflicts occur side by side in structurally differentiated social institutions (e.g., polity-economy).

Domhoff, though a class hegemonist, also differentiates power, but does so 'vertically' when he describes the relative autonomy of the 'local ruling class' from the 'national ruling class'. Further, even if the local ruling group was a closely affiliated 'branch' of the national ruling class (as Domhoff feels is sometimes the case), on issues of local concern which are of little consequence to the national ruling class it may be seen to function as if it were a more autonomous 'local ruling class'. In these instances, then, class antagonisms and contradictions exist simultaneously, yet relatively autonomously, in the local community power structure as well as in the national context. Power is thus said to be 'vertically' differentiated on an axis between the local and national context.

The terms 'horizontal' and 'vertical' differentiation are adapted from Walton's (1968, 1971) notions of the "horizontal axis of power" between community members and the "vertical axis of power" between the local community and the national power center. The sense in which the term 'horizontal' differentiation of power is used here, is intended to denote the distinction between, and relative autonomy of, power arrangements in various community structures. In the same way, the term 'vertical' differentiation denotes a distinction between and relative autonomy of the power arrangements of the local ruling class and the national ruling class.

With regard to the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, it is advantageous to move on momentarily to a brief discussion of the elite indices of power before completing this treatment of the context of power. In the particular case of the Multicultural Committee the elite indices of power serve to locate at least some of its members in the local ruling class. This is so because this group of individuals either stand in the same relation to the means of production (i.e., owners), or are high ranking functionaries (e.g., managers and professionals) engaged in furthering the interests of the capitalist class. In any event, the ambivalence of some U.P.B.C. members with respect to their material class positions is rendered inconsequential by their identification with and active support of capitalist ruling class interests.

At this point a more precise indication of what is meant by the term 'local ruling class' is appropriate. Both Domhoff (1978a) and Dahl (1961) agree that there exist 'upper classes' which are clearly demarcated social classes holding the highest social standing in local communities. Membership in an upper class is loosely based upon the ownership of relatively substantial material wealth and participation in the accompanying distinctive social network. Though the local upper class does include the very rich, extreme wealth is not a requisite to upper class membership.

The determination of the membership of the local ruling class is problematic. Domhoff's class hegemony paradigm, for example, relies upon network analysis to determine which individuals are part of the local 'upper' class. As a result, Domhoff's analysis of New Haven (1978a) focuses on the overlapping membership of major social clubs and local bank directorships. Other Marxists (see Crompton and Gubbay 1977, for example) argue that approaches such as Domhoff's exclude a large number of individuals who should be included in the local ruling class. However, according to Crompton and Gubbay (1977:171), it is difficult to ascertain the class to which many individuals belong because they occupy "structurally ambiguous class situations". Thus, whatever the definition of the local ruling class, its membership is difficult to determine.

Domhoff (1978a) demonstrates that the local upper class is the highest echelon of the 'capitalist class', and is a 'ruling class' that dominates every aspect of local community action. In doing so, Domhoff (1978a:16) broadens the membership of this class beyond the very limited numbers that Hunter (1953) would include in his elite ruling group, and arrives at a local ruling class in New Haven that is about .8 percent of its population. If one were to assume that the local ruling class in Edmonton/Northern Alberta was roughly of the same proportion as that in New Haven, then the Edmonton/Northern Alberta ruling class would be at least 4,000 strong (i.e., .8 percent of approximately one-half million). While the exact size of any local ruling class is a moot point, this discussion serves to underscore the fact that the Edmonton/Northern Alberta ruling class is more than just a handful of wealthy powerful individuals. Thus, the members of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee, though not the wealthiest nor most powerful individuals in the community, can nevertheless be included in the membership of the local ruling class.

The individuals who formed the Multicultural Committee, while enjoying reputations and positions of power locally, cannot be considered to be members of the national ruling class (which Domhoff estimates as less than one percent of the population for the U.S.A., while Clement documents the native born membership of the Canadian corporate elite as only of the order of one thousand). The members of the Multicultural Committee, although enjoying many close relationships with powerful individuals at the local and provincial levels, did not apparently have many ties with the national ruling class.

The ruling class in the Edmonton/Northern Alberta area lies somewhere along the continuum between a 'local branch' of the national ruling class with many close linkages to the national ruling class and a 'local ruling class' with very few, if any, linkages. On matters of little significance, such as the introduction of a bilingual English-Ukrainian elementary school program, regardless of where the ruling group in Edmonton is located on this continuum, it may act in a relatively autonomous fashion, just as would a legitimate 'local ruling class'. Thus, it is probably most appropriate to characterize the local ruling group in Edmonton/Northern Alberta as closely resembling a relatively autonomous 'local ruling class' at least with regards to matters of local concern and provincial jurisdiction such as education.

In the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program the negotiations between the Multicultural Committee, the provincial government, and the Edmonton school boards can be seen to have been a process by which members of the local ruling class used their power to influence other members of the local ruling class who held positions in the state apparatus (i.e., provincial government and school boards). This influence was usually directed towards specific concrete decisions made in the various electoral assemblies. In this way narrow interest groups within the local ruling class (such as the Multicultural Committee) can advance their causes by, in their own words, "cashing in" on their shared class affiliations and close personal ties with fellow members of the local ruling class who serve in government assemblies. At the same time, one must bear in mind that the local ruling class can settle many of its internal squabbles or conflicts of interest without having to involve any part of the state apparatus. However, in matters such as public schooling, the penetration of the state into such realms makes it almost impossible to bypass the formal decision-making procedures of duly elected assemblies.

The discussion directly above concerning the use of power by some ruling class members (in the Multicultural Committee) to influence other members of the ruling class (in the state apparatus) suggests that perhaps the pluralist notion of 'slackness' of power has some currency within this composite analysis. Pluralists suggest that the entire community power structure can be said to be slack if there exists diffuse, unused political resources in the system which can be mobilized by interest groups to further their influence. As the Marxist analyses have pointed out, there was very little participation in the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program beyond those members of the ruling class in the Multicultural Committee and in the appropriate arms of the state apparatus. That this slack power was taken up by members of the local ruling class rather than by working class members of the community is not surprising even to pluralists. Pluralists recognize that some groups have relatively greater access to the political resources resting in the community power structure than do others for a variety of reasons including the amount of time, financial backing, and social/organizational skills these groups have at their disposal.

The lack of working class participation in the power dynamics surrounding the emergence of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program indicates that, in fact, whatever power was slack in the community was inaccessible to them and disposable only to those in the ruling class. Thus, it is advantageous to borrow the concept of 'slackness of power' from the pluralist paradigm, but only in so far as such power can be said to be slack within the local ruling class. In other words, interest groups within the local ruling class can take up the diffuse, unused political resources which are to be found in the local ruling class itself and in doing so increase the power available to them. However, the working class is not a repository of similar political resources. The only meaningful political strength working class individuals or groups possess derives from broader based collective class action. The amount of slack power available to working class groups does not seem to be significant -- witness again the non-involvement of the working classes in the development of the bilingual program. On the other hand, the local ruling class members of the Multicultural Committee, though not extremely powerful members of the ruling class, were able to exploit the "climate of the times" in regards to multiculturalism to bring substantial influence to bear upon other members of their own class.

While pluralists hold the results of concrete decisions in formal decision-making assemblies as the key indices of who has power in the community, there is something more which such indicators ignore. A formal decision may set a policy or enact specific laws, but if these legal maneuvers do not give rise to concrete action no matter how 'concrete' the original decision it makes little sense to say that some one has 'won' or 'lost' anything in that decision. For example, the provincial government's policy on multiculturalism and its recommendations on second language education were attacked by the education professor on the Multicultural Committee as a facade because up to that point no real programs had come about as a result.

Also, when the School Act was changed in 1971, to allow languages other than English and French as media of instruction in the public schools, the then minister of education "didn't see that changes in actual practises in the classroom [would] result". As the Multicultural Committee later pointed out, without a real commitment on the part of the government such "legal tokenism" was worthless. Moreover, when the school boards agreed in 'principle' to the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, their 'concrete' decision would not 'cement' the program's future unless the province supplied the needed manpower and financial support.

That so-called concrete decisions are poor indices of power is evident to both of the Marxist inspired paradigms of community power structure. The class hegemony and the structural Marxist paradigms each in their way recognize that what counts in terms of determining power is not merely the decision, but the consequences of that decision. The indices of power in the class hegemony and the structural Marxist paradigms, societal rewards and policy outcomes respectively, point to substantive criteria by which power is to be adjudged.

In the most general sense the class hegemony indices (societal rewards) refer to the material benefits accruing to individuals or groups of individuals in society. Those who receive the greatest rewards within a particular society do so because their power enables them to accumulate such rewards at the expense of individuals or groups who hold relatively less power. These indices can be used to assess power at any level but do not identify the sources of power which originally gave cause to this accumulation of rewards. That is to say, an individual may have accumulated a disproportionate amount of the rewards that a society has to offer, but while this condition may be viewed as indicative of, or a gross measure of, the power that person holds, it does not reveal whether the sources of this power are from within the local community or from extra-community centers (e.g., the national ruling class).

In employing specific policy outcomes as indices of power the structural Marxist paradigm redresses somewhat this conceptual insensitivity. In broad terms 'policy outcomes' are a more precise indicator of power than are 'societal rewards' in that the former refer to specific occurrences while the latter refer to more general aspects of the social reward structure. For example, an examination of how a series of specific policy outcomes were of material benefit to a group of individuals would yield more detailed information as to the possible sources of its members' power than would a simple tally of the societal rewards they have amassed.

The decision made by the Alberta provincial government to support multiculturalism and to allow the use of languages other than English or French as instructional media in the province's public schools are significant to structural Marxists only in that as policy they precipitated certain outcomes. The most pertinent outcome was of course the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. These policy outcomes, not the policies themselves nor the decision-making processes leading up to the adoption of the policies, are indices of who holds power in the community. Thus, whoever might benefit from the bilingual program would be seen as having relatively more power than those for whom the program was of no particular benefit. As outlined previously, both Marxist paradigms point to the absence of benefit to the working classes from the bilingual program. In fact, the program is seen to preempt other programs of potentially more use to the working classes and to act as a distraction from working class enmity towards the exploitive social order. Thus the bilingual program contributes only indirectly to whatever domination there is of the working class.

It would appear to be profitable to reconcile the similar yet distinct indices of power employed by the class hegemony and structural Marxist paradigms. In stressing specific policy outcomes at the community level the structural Marxist may well underestimate the impact of the broader distribution of societal rewards upon the community power structure. Thus, just as one must consider the power of local ruling classes in the context of the power of the national ruling class, one must also view specific policy outcomes in the light of the pattern of general societal rewards. From this perspective, the indices of power must be vertically differentiated (i.e., between specific policy outcomes and general societal rewards) in the same way that the context of power is vertically differentiated between the local and the national ruling classes. In this way local ruling classes, such as in Edmonton/Northern Alberta, are not only conceived of as having relative autonomy from the national ruling class, but the indices of their power can be considered in relative isolation from nation-wide indicators. In every instance, however, it must be remembered that this autonomy is not absolute, but relative in the sense that local ruling classes and policy outcomes are framed within the context of the national ruling class hegemony and the ubiquitous societal reward structure.

The 'horizontal' differentiation of power between the state and economic structure in the structural Marxist paradigm and between elites in some plural elite perspectives is seen to be overstated. Indeed, this apparent 'horizontal' differentiation of power is more readily understood as the internal bickering within the ruling classes. As has been mentioned, however, power within the local ruling class can be said to be somewhat slack, and thus whatever differentiation of power there is in the local ruling class is subject to constant flux as interest groups take up and release this slack power. Groups such as the Multicultural Committee can augment their power through the mobilization of the diffuse, unused political resources resting within the local ruling class. These resources, however, are not similarly available to working class groups in the community.

It may also be that the more relative autonomy that a local ruling class enjoys with respect to the national ruling class (i.e., the greater the 'vertical' differentiation of power), the more slack power will be in the local ruling class. That is to say, if the national ruling class 'draws in the reins' on a local ruling class through the direct intervention of its local representatives or the creation of ad hoc associations, the slackness of power in the local ruling class would be constrained in the face of such high-powered national ruling class influence. Conversely, the national ruling class may in circumstances of little national significance leave the field open for interest groups in a local ruling class to mobilize in their own interests whatever power is diffuse within the local ruling class.

This latter circumstance perhaps best approximates the conditions in effect within the Edmonton/Northern Alberta community power structure at the time of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program's development, at least with respect to multicultural education concerns. Hence, the existence of some measure of slackness in the local ruling class power arrangement, and the Multicultural Committee's exploitation of the power so available, can be seen as factors which contributed to the group's extraordinary success even though its members were not the most influential nor the most powerful individuals in the community.

To reiterate, both the context and indices of power should be 'vertically' differentiated so as to be able to adequately deal with the apparent relative autonomy of the local ruling classes from the national ruling class. Of course, that the national ruling class is more powerful and can usually 'get its way' in conflicts with local ruling classes remains a fundamental verity. Yet, as has been discussed, on matters of little significance to the national ruling class, local ruling classes can enjoy considerable autonomy in policy formation and the general conduct of community affairs.

What, then, can be said of the configuration of the community power structure in Edmonton/Northern Alberta? It would seem that the power structure within the community comes closest to that given in the class hegemony paradigm. The data reported in previous chapters on the Edmonton/Northern Alberta community indicate that the local ruling class (represented by the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee) influenced local governing bodies to such an extent that the subordinate working class was excluded from the processes involved in the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. There is nothing in the data to substantiate the claim that any significant degree of pluralist democratic participation took place. There is no indication that the various levels of government were autonomous assemblies which acted independently of ruling class interests. There is also little evidence that power in the community somehow 'balanced out' through the competition of a plurality of narrow interest elites.

Individuals selected to comprise the Multicultural Committee of the U.P.B.C. were not chosen because of some specialized expertise that they held as much as they were for their influence within the local ruling class. These persons had political connections, positions of power, and established reputations as influential individuals in the community. Indeed, these individuals felt that they had access to the proper channels of communication which would facilitate the accomplishment of their goals. Unless one adopts a very restrictive definition of the ruling class (i.e., excluding managers, professionals, and other adjutants to those who hold formal ownership of the means of production) the individuals on the Multicultural Committee qualify as members of the local ruling class.

Toward a New Paradigm

A 'new paradigm' which emerges from the analysis above would have the following dimensions of community power:

Configuration:	vertically differentiated -national ruling class -local ruling class
Indices:	the interrelationship of specific policy outcomes and the general distribution of societal rewards
Context:	local and national ruling class processes of domination.

Essentially, this emergent paradigm is an elaboration of many of the themes found in the two Marxist paradigms. This is so because the pluralist dimensions of power are not supported by the data, while the elite dimensions are inadequate in that extra-community sources of power are virtually ignored and the class nature of the dominant elite is not revealed.

The most telling inadequacies of the pluralist paradigm are the inability to deal convincingly with the use of 'private power' and the lack of rank-and-file participation in the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. The data clearly indicate that considerable power, in the form of private influence was wielded outside the purview of formal governing bodies. Decisions made by the provincial government and the school boards were most often decided beforehand through such private influence. In addition, in that the pluralist paradigm characterizes community power structure as being 'slack' throughout as well as widely dispersed, it cannot satisfactorily explain the systematic exclusion of working class participation in the development of the bilingual program.

The Multicultural Committee consciously acted on its own and did not solicit rank-and-file support for its objectives (e.g., "it was not so important to get great numbers behind us"). If power was in fact widely dispersed in the community and if diffuse, unused political resources were available to working class individuals or groups willing to take up this 'slack', then it would have been important for the Multicultural Committee to enlist the aid of rank-and-file working class persons. The committee members, however, recognized that not only was the aid so available insignificant, it was also unnecessary and might even encumber their efforts at private influence and behind-the-scenes political maneuvering (e.g., "it would be best ... to act quickly, unilaterally ... [using] the kinds of methods that would be best").

For its part, the elite paradigm, while closer to the mark than its pluralist counterpart, makes too much of the notion of a small, conspiratorial power elite. This group of 'top leaders' in Atlanta was arbitrarily set at forty members by Hunter (1953) in his original study. The group was seen to directly control municipal government as well as the economic life of the community. The data on the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program suggest that those vested with power in the Edmonton/Northern Alberta community are a much larger, less cohesive group than elite theorists posit. The members of the Multicultural Committee could not be said to be the 'top', wealthiest, and most powerful leaders of the community as a whole, yet they did possess power considerable enough to influence powerful others. Again, the data point to the idea of a larger, less stringently bounded social class as a more accurate representation of the 'ruling' group in the community, rather than a small power elite whose membership can be precisely determined and sharply defined.

In any event, the bilingual program as it is constituted, while of relatively little immediate benefit to the working classes, is also not of much value to the small group at the extreme upper limit of power and prestige in the community. As has been demonstrated, the groups which apparently participated and benefitted most from the bilingual program are the middle and upper-middle classes. Thus, the emergence of the bilingual program itself is not easily amenable to elite explanation.

Both Marxist paradigms, of course, recognize the class nature of the dominant group in society. Also, as they are derived from the broad Marxian analysis of the capitalist system, they more adequately deal with the national context of local community power structure. However, this strength is also something of a weakness. The Marxist paradigms too often attempt to elaborate the structure of community power through the use of concepts developed to explain phenomena at the macro societal level. That is to say, that terms such as 'class', 'dominance', etc., are at times used in such broad strokes that the micro level peculiarities of community power dynamics are obfuscated. Hence, the 'new paradigm' will attempt to retain the national context and class analysis of the Marxist paradigms of community power structure while incorporating elements of more sensitivity to the volatile minutiae of local community power arrangements.

What is fundamentally novel about this new paradigmatic approach to community power structure is that the horizontal differentiation of power in the structural Marxist paradigm is rejected and a vertical differentiation is emphasized. Notwithstanding this 'novelty', many of its elements are borrowed from the class hegemony paradigm and utilized in a manner suggested by Domhoff's recent study of New Haven (1978a). It is from Domhoff that the concept of the 'local ruling class' is taken, but a greater degree of autonomy from the national ruling class is implied here than Domhoff has posited. In any event, Domhoff (1978a:159) correctly observes that "the important question of how local elites relate to the national-level ruling class...still remains whatever designation is given to a local upper class in a city".

While it may be presumptuous to refer to the sketchy outline suggested above as a paradigm, one should remember Kuhn's (1970:55) remark that because "both observation and conceptualization, fact and assimilation to theory, are inseparably linked in discovery, then discovery is a process and must take time." Thus, this new paradigm is in its genesis and needs time to be developed fully. Be this as it may, one must demand that the primary elements of the proposed new paradigm are in consonance at all levels of analysis. At this stage, then, a brief outline of the proposed new paradigm for community power structure is in order.

The context of power in the new paradigm is situated in the processes of local as well as national ruling class domination of the subordinate working classes. The forms of ruling class domination in the advanced capitalist societies of the western world are subtle. In the present context such domination does not generally refer to the overt use of power by the ruling class to "beat down" the subordinate working class, but rather designates the sometimes indirect and covert suppression of working class consciousness, collective action, and class conflict. Thus, the domination of the ruling class is a consequence of its ownership of the means of production, its manipulation of government, and the ubiquity of its hegemony.

As a result, the working class remains relatively disorganized and powerless, and thus largely incapable of controlling its own destiny. The ruling class, on the other hand, is vested with such power that it can be clearly said to be able to dominate the working classes. In any event, such domination, by either the local or national level of the ruling class, is evidenced by their control of specific policy outcomes and of the general distribution of societal rewards.

Of course, the interrelationships (e.g., degree of autonomy) between the local ruling class and national ruling class themselves are also of prime concern. Hence, while power is seen to be manifest in processes of domination by either ruling class group (local or national), specific policy outcomes, the general distribution of societal rewards, and the interrelationship between them are key indices of power. Thus, a specific policy outcome resulting from local ruling class influence should be assessed as to its effect on the general pattern of societal rewards on a national basis, and similarly the general distribution of rewards resulting from national ruling class dominance should be assessed as to its impact on local policy outcomes. In practise it may be difficult to differentiate between the contribution made to the general pattern of societal rewards by local ruling class influence or national ruling class domination, or between the contribution that these two levels of ruling class dominance make to local policy outcomes. Nevertheless, the analytical utility of these concepts makes them indispensible to the proposed paradigm.

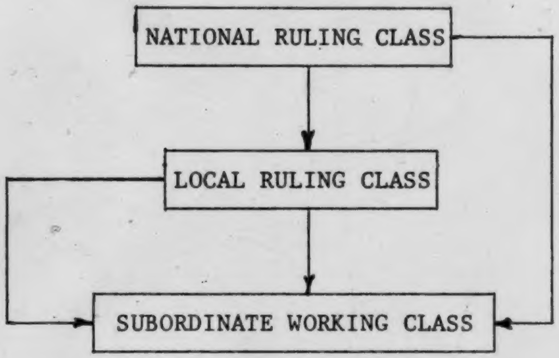
In conceptualizing community power structure within the context of local and national ruling class processes of domination, and emphasizing the interrelationships of specific policy outcomes and the general distribution of societal rewards as indices, a configuration of power emerges readily. This configuration of power, which posits a relative autonomy between the power of the national ruling class and local ruling classes, characterizes the structure of power in the community not as a pyramidal hierarchy, not as dispersed, not as horizontally differentiated, but as a vertically differentiated system.

Figure 1 indicates that the national ruling class can dominate the subordinate working class directly (represented by the arrowed line to the right); that the local ruling class can use its influence to dominate the subordinate working class directly (represented by the arrowed line to the left); and that the national ruling class can dominate the subordinate working class through use of the local ruling class influence (represented by the arrowed lines in the center of figure 1). In the analysis of the Edmonton/ Northern Alberta community power structure and how it influenced the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program the configuration, indices, and context of power outlined in the 'new paradigm' are most useful.

At the risk of being prolix, a brief resume of the new paradigm's analysis of the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program will be given. According to the proposed new paradigm the context of power in the community is found within

Figure 1

CONFIGURATION OF POWER IN THE 'NEW PARADIGM'



the processes of local and national ruling class domination. The data outlined in previous chapters support the interpretation that the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee was composed of members of the local ruling class. Their class membership was evidenced most clearly by the positions they held and their close personal relationships with other individuals who would likewise be categorized as members of the local ruling class. That this class was a 'ruling class' is also supported by the data which show that its members dominated government through the use of private influence.

Further, the 'local' nature of this ruling class is indicated by the fact that though the individuals in the Multicultural Committee were members of the local ruling class they did not have many linkages with the national ruling class. Although this is the case, one must not assume that others did not enjoy closer relationships with members of the national ruling class. Indeed, the relationship between local and national ruling class processes of domination are crucial elements of analysis. With respect to the particular circumstances surrounding the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program it appears that very little input came directly from the national ruling class, and that the national ruling class did not use the local ruling class as an intermediary in the local community. The data show that the local ruling class operated relatively autonomously with respect to the national ruling class. Apparently, this was the case in part because, as a school program, the bilingual program came under provincial control and seemed to be of little interest to the national ruling class. It also appears from the data that the local ruling class in Edmonton/Northern Alberta might attempt to act in a relatively autonomous manner on matters of more interest to the national ruling class, but this claim requires further empirical validation.

The indices of power in the new paradigm stress the interrelationship of specific policy outcomes with the general distribution of societal rewards both in the community and in the broader national context. Though the policy outcomes pertaining to the development of the bilingual program may be specified at the various stages of its development, the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program itself is the most important policy outcome in the analysis. The fact that such an extensive, successful program resulted indicates that as an interest group within the local ruling class, the Multicultural Committee, through the private power of its members and the slack power it managed to mobilize, was able to exact the policy outcomes it wanted from the provincial government and the school boards.

Viewed as a 'societal reward' the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program contributed very little to the material wealth of any one except those who have assumed positions within the program's delivery and support structures. In non-material terms, the leaders of the U.P.B.C. may have gained in prestige and influence within their own organization and perhaps with others in the local ruling class who were involved with some aspect of the program's development. In these regards the subordinate working classes have gained little if anything from the bilingual program. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the national ruling class has not directly benefitted from the emergence of the bilingual program either. However, the national ruling class has not lost any of its disproportionate share of the societal rewards as a result of the program. Thus, the national ruling class can be seen to be an omnipresent factor in the determination of local policy outcomes, such as the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, in that it may hold a veto over policies which threaten the established pattern of distribution of societal rewards. Nevertheless, one may argue that as a social reward itself the program represents a shift in distribution towards the Ukrainian community and away from the established anglo elite. Given the relative autonomy of local ruling classes this small divergence of community resources is not entirely anomalous.

While class hegemonists may hold that the national ruling class actively applies such vetoes as mentioned above on local community policy outcomes (if necessary through the formation of ad hoc associations), the proposed new paradigm stresses the relatively autonomous processes by which local ruling classes self-regulate policy outcomes in their community. On the other hand, the commonality of interests shared by the local and national ruling classes usually renders local policy outcomes so compatible with national ruling class policies that direct intervention by the national ruling class into local affairs is most often unnecessary. In the case of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, in as much as the program is at least non-threatening to national ruling class dominance (and the existing distribution of societal rewards), it appears that the national ruling class had no reason to become actively involved. When a possible area of disagreement arises between the national ruling class and a local ruling class, however, there is reason to believe that the national group would exercise considerable influence over the local group regardless of the local ruling class's relative autonomy.

The configuration of the community power structure in Edmonton/Northern Alberta which emerges as a consequence of the above analysis is, then, one of vertical differentiation of power. The structure is vertically differentiated in that the local ruling class appears to have enjoyed a significant degree of relative autonomy from the national ruling class in the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. There appears also to be some 'slackness' of power *within* the local ruling class. While it is hazardous to generalize from the specific data presented in this study, there is some indication that the processes and procedures involved in developing the bilingual program would be similar to those which would accompany other community developments. Provincial cabinet ministers, school board officials and trustees, as well as the members of the U.P.B.C. Multicultural Committee all accepted these processes and procedures as the appropriate means by which the bilingual program ought to have been pursued. Indeed, many informants felt that the approach taken by the Multicultural Committee was not only "effective" but also an accepted "part of the process". It must be noted that in these processes there was little allowance made for routine inputs from the national ruling class.

The above circumstances lead one to suspect that not only does the national ruling class typically remain aloof from many processes of local ruling class influence, it is also systematically excluded from such processes by local ruling classes. Thus, the configuration of the Edmonton/Northern Alberta community power structure is vertically differentiated between local and national ruling classes.

The new paradigm suggested by the composite analysis will be reviewed in the final chapter. As well, the implications of this study for other multicultural school programs will be discussed.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The field of community power study and the development of multicultural (bilingual) school programs intuitively should be easily reconciled. After all, programs such as the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program and the Heritage Language Program in Ontario have arisen most often as a consequence of local community initiative and have usually involved considerable and imaginative use of an array of tactics which would reasonably come under the rubric of community power structure literature. However, research relating local community power structure to the development of multicultural school programs and similar projects has not generally been forthcoming.

It is obvious that in the context of contemporary Canadian society multiculturalism and its attendant programs such as ethnic bilingual/bicultural school programs have proven to be topical and contentious issues. Moreover, in a pluralist ethno-cultural nation like Canada, studies of local power arrangements are also of crucial significance for the understanding of not only the resolution of multicultural issues, but of an understanding of the entire fabric of social life. Thus, this study is an attempt to bring together the valuable theoretical perspectives within the community power structure field and empirical data on the evolution of one of the most extensive multicultural school programs in the country. In doing so, it is hoped that: (1) a clearer understanding of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual

Program has been provided, and (2) that a more satisfying paradigm for community power structure has been suggested.

This study began with a prolegomenon on the relationship between language, culture and ethnicity as it applies to language/cultural maintenance school programs. The English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program was then singled out for study as it is the most ambitious and highly developed 'public bilingual' ethnic school program in Canada. In order to make sense of the political maneuvering and negotiations which preceded the bilingual program's opening, a review of the relevant community power structure literature was conducted. Subsequently, four community power structure paradigms were used as analytical frameworks for interpreting the development of the bilingual program and the characteristics of the program and its students. From this an attempt was made to sketch out a 'new' paragidm by integrating and synthesizing the existing paradigms into a composite analysis in order to make better sense of the data. It is also hoped that this will contribute to community power structure theory.

Given the rather limited data generated by this study, it is, of course, not possible to fully develop a new paradigm of community power structure. More extensive empirical and conceptual work is needed before this can be done. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made here because of the lack of progress towards overcoming the theoretical impass that currently exists in the literature on community power structure. On the other hand, it may be argued that the limited nature of the data employed in this study cannot contribute much in the way of theoretical insights with respect to power structure theory. It would seem, however, that the power dynamics suggested by the data can be interpreted in a structured, coherent and penetrating fashion using elements of community power structure theory. In any event, it is the task of the social scientist to offer explanation of such phenomena using empirically grounded theory which can be linked to more formal theoretical frameworks.

Review of the New Paradigm

Power, in the new paradigm, is manifest as ruling class dominance of the community. The 'ruling class' is defined as that group which owns/controls the means of economic production (i.e., capitalists and their professional managers, etc.). Subsequently this group dominates the political sector as well as the working class. 'Domination' means, in the first instance, economic domination of the proletariat through the ownership of the means of production and the social relations engendered thereof. Domination entails not only the control of government at all levels but also socio-cultural hegemony.

Also, power, in the new paradigm, takes on a 'vertically differentiated' configuration. In other words, local ruling classes in communities across the society are 'relatively autonomous' from the national ruling class in their exercise of community domination. Although the national ruling class has, in the final analysis, more power than any local ruling class and hence may supercede local ruling class influence, it remains that the autonomous exercise of power by local ruling classes constitutes an integral and critical dimension in the overall pattern of social control in developed, capitalist societies. Thus, the configuration of power in such societies is vertically differentiated because ruling class domination entails the exercise of local ruling class power as well as that wielded by the national ruling class. It must be remembered, however, that while the local ruling class contributes to the larger pattern of ruling class domination, it is profoundly influenced by the national ruling class.

Similarly, the indices of power in the community are vertically differentiated. At the local level, specific policy outcomes are the most precise indicators of which groups hold power in the community. At the national level, the general pattern of distribution of societal rewards is the most important index of who has power in society. In emphasizing the vertical differentiation of both indices and configuration of power, the new paradigm posits that, in terms of its sources of power and its patterns of influence, the local ruling class has a significant degree of autonomy from the national ruling class. Notwithstanding this relative autonomy, it is recognized that the interrelationship between the two levels of ruling class domination is as important for study as are the two levels themselves. Hence, this new paradigm of community power structure does not suggest that all forms of ruling class domination are reducible to a single process supportive of national capitalist ruling class interests; rather it seeks to elaborate the fluctuations in local power arrangements which result from the peculiarities of local ruling classes.

In addition, it is posited that local ruling class patterns of community dominance vary over time and locality to the extent that the distribution of power within the local ruling class vacillates significantly. These vacillations often result in changing directions of policy outcomes as well as different degrees of congruence between local ruling class influence and national ruling class dominance. Power in local ruling classes can be said to differ in another way. Particular interest groups within a local ruling class can often augment the power they already possess by taking up the diffuse, unused political resources that are 'slack' within local ruling class power arrangements. Such 'slack' power, however, is secondary to the systemic or class-based power of the local ruling class as a whole and is, in any case, not available to the working class.

The advantages of the new paradigm over the established Marxist, elite, and pluralist paradigms are to be found mainly in terms of its sensitivity to local variations within the broader national context. Also, the proposed paradigm more adequately deals with the particular set of data presented earlier. For example, the structural Marxist paradigm, although horizontally differentiating power and class relations between social structures (i.e., economy and polity), does not portray local processes of ruling class domination as being in any way distinct from the general, nation-wide processes. Emphasizing the 'horizontal differentiation' of power at the expense of the 'vertical differentiation' (between levels of the ruling class), the structural Marxist paradigm obfuscates the peculiarities of local power structures, specifically by positing concurrent class antagonisms across disparate structures. Nevertheless, the structural Marxist perspective makes a valuable contribution by emphasizing the relations between the economic sector of the community and the local arms of the state apparatus as well as by focusing on specific policy outcomes as indices of power in the community.

The new paradigm also posits a greater degree of autonomy for the local ruling class autonomy vis-à-vis the national ruling class than does the class hegemony paradigm. As discussed in the preceding chapters, G. William Domhoff's distinction between a 'local upper class' and a 'local branch' of the national upper class forms the basis for the way in which power, in the new paradigm, is vertically differentiated. Domhoff's distinction is actually nothing more than a rough metric representing the numbers of overlapping memberships that exist between local and national upper classes -- a 'local branch' having many overlaps with the national upper class and a 'local upper class' having few. Such 'local upper classes' are likely to be found, according to Domhoff (1978a:174), only in "very small towns and dying cities".

In any case, these local upper classes are not thought to be vital, self-sufficient, and autonomous; rather they are seen to occupy the lowest rungs of the national upper class (its level depending upon the number of overlaps with the national upper class network). Domhoff (1978a:159 passim) intimates that a local upper class which has little or no overlap with the national upper class would have difficulty in gaining access to the power that would enable it to be a true 'ruling' class, in the sense that the 'national upper class' or a closely affiliated 'local branch' are ruling classes.

The new paradigm proposes that a local upper class, or more precisely a local capitalist class, is indeed a local ruling class which enjoys relative autonomy from the national ruling class. The more autonomy a local ruling class enjoys from the national ruling class, the more it can exercise its local influence in its own fashion. This is much different from the class hegemony view which suggests that the more isolated a local upper class is from the national ruling class, the less able it is to dominate the local community. The nature of the relationship between 'degree of autonomy' and 'local power' remains a point requiring further empirical study. Regardless, within the new paradigm the power of the local ruling class is seen to be more autonomously derived and exercised than in the class hegemony paradigm. One must remember, however, that local ruling class power exists within the broader context of the dominant national level ruling class, and can only be fully understood in relation to the national context of power.

The new paradigm also posits that power within the local ruling classes is 'slack' in the manner pluralists suggest, but it restricts the notion of slackness to the ruling class itself. In doing so it provides a flexible approach to the dynamics of ruling class power in the local community. While the amount of 'slack' power available is likely to be small in comparison to the power held by many individuals and groups in the ruling class, it is not insignificant at the local level. Here again the new paradigm offers greater sensitivity to the shifting distribution of power within the ruling class and the accompanying changes in patterns of influence than the Marxist paradigms.

In contrast to the elite paradigm, which posits a very small power elite as the controlling group in the community, the new paradigm conceives of the local ruling group as a 'class' in the Marxian sense. By doing so it provides a valuable interpretive framework for understanding the processes of domination within the community. The notion of a capitalist 'local ruling class' enables the researcher to include more of the capitalist power shareholders in the analysis of power in the community than does the concept of a 'power elite'. Also, unlike the latter, the 'local ruling class' notion, by definition, brings the national context (i.e., the national ruling class) inextricably into the new paradigm's analysis of community power structure. Moreover, the concept of capitalist ruling class dominance allows for some consideration of the role of subordinate working classes rather than referring to the latter as 'non-elites' or the 'inert masses', thus effectively excluding most of the community from the analysis.

While the new paradigm borrows the notion of 'slackness', albeit in an amended form from the pluralist paradigm, it is very much at odds with the pluralist view that power is widely dispersed throughout the community. The new paradigm views the configuration of power as being vertically differentiated between local and national ruling class domination of the working classes. Thus, power is not dispersed throughout the community, but is vested in the ruling class. The data gathered in the present study support the proposition that the local ruling class had such power that it dominated the community. As the data reveal, various individuals and groups with shared ruling class membership supported or acquiesced to those who supported the development of the Edmonton English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, while the relatively less powerful members of the local working class were systematically excluded from participation in the creation of the program. These observations can be readily interpreted within the new paradigm while they contradict the pluralist assumption that power is widely dispersed. Hence, the new paradigm provides a more adequate interpretation of the empirical conditions encountered.

In summary then, the elements of the proposed paradigm together comprise a more detailed description and analysis of the dynamics of local community power structure than do the Marxist or elite paradigms. Also, it provides a model of community power structure that more adequately interprets the data in the present study than does the pluralist paradigm.

Implications for Multicultural School Programs

The present study of the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Edmonton schools is far from ideal given the elements of the new paradigm. The inclusion for study of a diverse range of policy outcomes beyond merely the bilingual program would have resulted in a fuller picture of the local community power structure in Edmonton/Northern Alberta, and most probably would have clarified the nature of the local ruling class's relationship to its national level counterpart. Unfortunately, such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis and awaits further investigation. These shortcomings and others are to be expected in that the new paradigm arose out of the data collected, not vice versa. Regardless, although further research is obviously desirable, some tentative conclusions concerning the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program and similar bilingual/bicultural programs can be drawn at this point.

Briefly, the Multicultural Committee of the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club of Edmonton augmented the power its members held individually by taking up the slack power which rested in the local capitalist ruling class. The sum of this power was sufficient enough to enable the Multicultural Committee to influence local (school boards and provincial government) arms of the state, and to exclude the local working class from the policy formation process which led to the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. The bilingual program itself, while contributing little to ruling class domination of the working class, primarily serves the middle and upper socio-economic strata and does not hinder local or national ruling class domination of the community.

To virtually all involved, the bilingual program is judged to be an extremely successful attempt to promote Ukrainian language and cultural maintenance in the children who are enrolled in the program. The provincial Department of Education and the school boards find the bilingual program educationally sound in that students in the program perform well in the regular curriculum. Although some members of the Northern Alberta community may disagree philosophically with ethnic 'public bilingual' schools and/or with paying the extra costs involved, it cannot be denied that, given its mandate, the Edmonton English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program is a well run, successful school program.

The implications of the emergence of the Edmonton English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program for other communities across Canada who wish to establish similar school programs are many. These implications become clear when the Edmonton experience is contrasted with the progress of the Ontario Heritage Language Program. Although large numbers of grade school children (more than 78,000 in 1980-81) were exposed to heritage languages in the Ontario public school system, provincial law still does not allow instruction in languages other than English and French, and the ministry of education only permits the teaching of ethnic languages for 30 minutes a day in an extended day or on Saturdays. How is it then, that fully bilingual programs (English-Ukrainian, English-German, and English-Hebrew) have arisen in Alberta (and later

Manitoba and Saskatchewan) and not in Ontario?

Briefly, in Edmonton members of the dominant local ruling class sponsored the development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, while the impetus behind the Ontario Heritage Language Program came from grass roots, non-ruling class community groups in Toronto (Dawson, 1977). Parents and other members of local ethnic groups in Toronto went to meetings, signed petitions and agitated largely at the school board level for ethnic bilingual/bicultural school programs. None of these types of active mass support was attempted or was even necessary in the successful campaign for the Edmonton bilingual program.

If the community power structure in Toronto is similar to that in Edmonton/Northern Alberta (at least with respect to local ruling class influence), it is perhaps understandable why grass roots tactics were unable to obtain as extensive a program as in Edmonton. Power in local communities is located within the capitalist ruling class (either local or national level). The Edmonton Multicultural Committee was made up of members of the Edmonton ruling class and was thus able to make use of the power its members collectively possessed as well as the 'slack power' available to them by virtue of having membership in the ruling class. Hence, the group was powerful enough to influence the provincial government and local school boards to the extent that the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program came about as desired. It may well be that the community groups in Toronto were not as successful because their members were not drawn from the ruling class and thus did not have access to the systemic (class) power required to influence the appropriate levels of the state apparatus.

In any event, there is some truth to Helen Potrebenko's (1977:295) observation that the "multicultural game mainly benefits those who have friends in high places". In order to successfully establish a fully bilingual (official/ ethnic language) public school program, ethnic groups must have extensive representation in the capitalist ruling class. It may be, however, that the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Edmonton has now set a precedent that will facilitate the development of other such programs in communities across Canada.

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APPENDIX A

A Description of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program

When the first Ukrainian kindergartens opened in January of 1974, 96 students were enrolled in five classrooms in regular schools across Edmonton. By the following September seven grade one classes with a total enrollment of 118 were opened; four in the public system and three in the Catholic system. As of the 1980-81 school year, four elementary schools and one junior high school in the Edmonton Catholic School District offered the program from K-7 to 477 pupils, and the Edmonton Public School Board had 361 students also at four elementary and one junior high school. Enrollments have grown steadily (see Table 15) from the program's inception and the Edmonton Catholic School Board (1980) predicts an enrollment of 675 for 1982.

Officially classes in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program use English as the language of instruction for fifty percent of the time and Ukrainian as the language of instruction for fifty percent of the time. The curriculum in the program is basically the same as that received by pupils in all other elementary school classrooms, except that a Ukrainian linguistic and cultural component is added. Social studies, music, art, physical education, and Ukrainian language arts are taught in Ukrainian with science, mathematics, and English language arts taught in English. Figure 2 gives a more detailed view of the curriculum for all grades (kindergarten or E.C.S. to grade 6) as prescribed by the Edmonton Catholic School Board in 1980. The emphasis throughout the program is on the development of effective listening, speaking,

Table 15

ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM ENROLLMENTS IN EDMONTON SCHOOLS

		BOARD		
Year	Grade	Public	Catholic	Combined
1974-75	K	73	23	96
	1	68	50	118
	ALL	141	73	214
1975-76	K	106	47	153
	1	62	48	110
	2	54	51	105
	ALL	222	146	368
1976-77	K	65	50	115
	1	81	55	136
	2	50	46	96
	3	52	47	99
	ALL	248	198	446
1977-78	K	77	75	152
	1	83	61	144
	2	77	51	138
	3	53	34	87
	4	46	44	90
	ALL	336	265	601
1978-79	K	58	67	125
	1	64	76	140
	2	75	63	138
	3	73	53	126
	4	46	34	80
	5	47	43	90
	ALL	363	336	699
1979-80	K	39	81	120
	1	48	74	122
	2	57	72	129
	3	65	63	128
	4	56	51	107
	5	41	33	74
	6	44	43	87
	ALL	350	417	767
1980-81	K	54	85	139
	1	39	68	107
	2	50	70	120
	3	57	67	124
	4	51	61	112
	5	47	48	95
	6	39	35	74
	7	24	43	67
	ALL	361	477	838

Figure 2*

ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM PRESCRIBED LEARNING RESOURCES, EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT, 1979-80

GRADE	RELIGION	LANGUAGE ARTS UKRAINIAN	LANGUAGE ARTS ENGLISH	MATH	SCIENCE	SOCIAL STUDIES	PHYSICAL EDUCATION	HEALTH	MUSIC	ART
ECS	An integrated approach									
ONE	INSTRUCTION IN UKRAINIAN AND ENGLISH "GOD WITH US" PROGRAM	INSTRUCTION IN UKRAINIAN CURRICULUM GUIDE - Alberta Education "HERE AND THERE" READING SERIES - Alberta Education	INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT READING (Nelson) Gr.1-6 STARTING POINTS IN LANGUAGE (Ginn) Gr.1-6 SPELLING IN THE LANGUAGE ARTS (Nelson) Gr.1-6 SPELL/WRITE (Ed.Media) Gr.1-6	INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH S R A Program	INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH Addison-Wesley	INSTRUCTION IN UKRAINIAN - INTERIM CURRICULUM - Alberta Ed. WORLD OF ME 1 & 2 McGraw-Hill BEAVERHILL 3 McGraw-Hill ALBERTA 4 CANADA 5 Ukrainian Unit Plans ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS 6	INSTRUCTION IN UKRAINIAN CURRICULUM GUIDE - Alberta Education	INSTRUCTION IN UKRAINIAN BASIC VOCABULARY - Alberta Education	INSTRUCTION IN UKRAINIAN UKRAINIAN MUSIC PROGRAM (1-3) - Alberta Education	INSTRUCTION IN UKRAINIAN CURRICULUM GUIDE - Alberta Education
TWO										
THREE										
FOUR										
FIVE										
SIX										
Instr. Time Min/wk	150/wk	300/wk	300/wk	250/wk	125/wk	150/wk	60/wk	30/wk	75/wk	60/wk

*Edmonton Catholic School Board, 1980

reading, and writing skills in both languages.

In actual practice the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program runs very much according to its official description. With respect to the amount of instructional time given in English and Ukrainian, the public board reported that in the program's third year of operation five of its nine teachers abided by the fifty-fifty split, while three others used Ukrainian 40% of the day and the remaining teacher 60% of the day. According to these teachers- the proportion of English/Ukrainian instructional time used "depended upon the knowledge [of the Ukrainian language] of the children" (E.P.S.B. 1977:21). In 1977-78, seven of the 12 program teachers in the public system reported the language of instruction was Ukrainian in 45% of the time. On the other hand, in that same year, six of eight program teachers in the Catholic system used Ukrainian 50% or more of the time. The variations that existed were attributed to the fact that teachers used as much Ukrainian as they judged practicable given the level of linguistic competence of their particular classes.

Though Ukrainian was officially designated the language of instruction in only social studies, music, art, physical education, and Ukrainian language arts, it found its way into the other subjects (i.e., science, mathematics and English language arts). Also, "teacher respondents indicated that in subject areas taught in the Ukrainian language new concepts were often introduced in the English language" (E.P.S.B. 1975:14). In the 1976-77 school year, four of the nine program teachers in the public system used English "quite a bit" in social studies. Lack of adequate Ukrainian language texts was most often cited as the reason for this. On the other hand, five of these nine teachers used "some" Ukrainian in teaching mathematics. Table 16 indicates the languages in which subjects were taught in the Edmonton Public School System for the 1978-79 school year (E.P.S.B. 1979:16).

Finally, the use of Ukrainian for "functional purposes" (e.g., telling students to take out books) was universal amongst the bilingual program teachers, although some reported using both languages in such instances. The foregoing data indicate that the teachers in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program generally followed the official program guidelines quite closely. The proportion of class time that teachers employed Ukrainian as the language of instruction depended on their students' knowledge of the language.

Throughout the first five years of the program, most teachers gave equal or more emphasis to Ukrainian language than to Ukrainian culture. In the first two grades of the program this greater emphasis on language involved the development of listening and speaking skills rather than reading and writing per se. When the program was expanded beyond the second grade, more emphasis was placed on fostering skills in reading and writing (E.P.S.B. 1977).

The cultural component of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program was mainly comprised of singing Ukrainian songs, celebrating Ukrainian Christmas and Easter, as well as other Ukrainian holidays, and 'special activities' which included going to Ukrainian concerts, museums, restaurants, and having Ukrainian

Table 16

NUMBER OF CLASSES TAUGHT IN UKRAINIAN,
ENGLISH OR BOTH, BY SUBJECT (N=22 classes),
THE EDMONTON PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1978-79

Subject	Language		
	Ukrainian	English	Both
Ukrainian Language Arts	13	0	9
English Language Arts	0	15	7
Mathematics	0	16	6
Physical Education	5	0	16
Science	2	18	2
Music	8	1	11
Art	7	0	15
Social Studies	3	1	18

community members come into the classroom to demonstrate dance and crafts. The public board reported that teachers "had given highest priority to Ukrainian religious traditions and singing, and spent little time on the traditions of present day Ukraine or the history of early Ukrainian settlers in Canada" (E.P.S.B. 1977:17). In 1977-78, teachers again devoted little time to the history of Ukrainian settlements or the contemporary Ukrainian community in Canada because of the unavailability of appropriate grade level Ukrainian language texts and teaching materials. Whatever the content of the cultural component in the program, most teachers felt that it deserved the same emphasis as that given to the Ukrainian language.

According to the typology of language/cultural maintenance programs developed earlier (see Chapter II) the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program as it now exists in Edmonton schools is a 'fully bilingual' program in that it uses both languages equally during instructional time. Although instruction in the Ukrainian language is officially limited to social studies, music, physical education, art and religion in the Catholic schools, the Ukrainian instructional component cannot be considered as a monoliterate/partial type of program since literary skills are stressed and the Ukrainian language is not entirely restricted to 'cultural subjects' only.

The recent extension of the program into the junior high school and recommendations at the board level that the junior high graduates should be able to move into a similar senior high school program suggest that the program is not merely a 'transitional' program intended to be gradually phased out. Cummins (1979:77) includes the Edmonton English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in what he terms the "functional bilingual" type which aims "to help children develop fluency and literacy in both L1 and L2 and to enable them to participate effectively in two cultural groups. The orientation of the program is entirely towards the enrichment potential of bilingualism and biculturalism, and transitional goals are not a major concern." Cummins contrasts the fully functional bilingual program with the "language shelter" type in which the ethnic mother tongue is used as a language of instruction because the pupils otherwise perform poorly in the official school language. Language shelter is not and has never been a motivation behind the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Edmonton. Indeed, as will be demonstrated later, children in the bilingual program perform as well in English language arts as children in the regular program.

The typology developed in Chapter II also distinguishes bilingual programs as to the degree to which ethnic identity is emphasized, and whether the 'national' culture and language are stressed as opposed to local 'folk' culture and dialect. With respect to these factors, no problems have yet been encountered in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. Although most Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada came from the western part of the Ukraine and share the same dialect, the standard or national form of the Ukrainian language is used exclusively in the program. However, only about ten percent (Cummins 1979) of the children who enter the program have well developed Ukrainian language skills. Thus, the differences between dialect and standard form are not problematic since in nearly all instances it is not a case of changing linguistic usage from dialect to standard form, but rather of introducing the Ukrainian language for the first time.

The Ukrainian cultural component in the program emphasizes traditional customs, dances, songs, etc., and does not relate these to the present day Soviet-dominated Ukraine. Thus it is difficult to categorize the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program as being 'folk' or 'national' in cultural content. Regardless, as shall be seen later, both the school and the Ukrainian community are overwhelmingly satisfied with the treatment given to Ukrainian culture in the program.

Additional Costs of the Bilingual Program

Although it is widely claimed by proponents of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program that it is carried out "without additional cost to regular subject learning" (Bilash 1979:20), extra expenditures of many kinds are involved. Initially, provincial and federal government grants were provided to the program to help develop curricula, etc. Also, the province of Alberta routinely gives additional grants to second language programs (see the School Act 1.2.2), and the Department of Education now has in its employ a Ukrainian 'curricular assistant' as well as Ukrainian 'learning resources' personnel. Obviously, there have been and continue to be supplemental expenses associated with the program which are met by the provincial government.

In 1979 the Department of Education commissioned a study to ascertain the additional costs of second language instruction in the province. This study (Alberta Education 1979:55) defined additional costs as "those which would not have been incurred had the second language program not been in existence." The findings revealed that the total additional costs to the two Edmonton boards of education (public and Catholic) for the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in the 1978-79 school year was $162,360 (Alberta Education 1979:61). Though it was felt that once the program had advanced beyond the "implementation" stage so-called "developmental" costs (e.g., for curriculum development, program assessment) would be lower, it was noted that the boards did not provide funds to meet the costs of transporting pupils to the schools which offered the program. The provincial government has now arranged to meet these additional transportation costs, which the Parent Advisory Committee of the Ukrainian Bilingual Program has estimated to be approximately $145,000 in the 1981 calendar year for students in the bilingual program of the Edmonton Catholic schools only (Trembita 1981:4).

As indicated above, considerable extra funding is required from the department of education as well as the school boards in order to sustain the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Edmonton. The 'additional costs' study by Alberta Education (1979:62) also recognized that more 'systematic' research might uncover further additional costs and that some consideration should also be given to "opportunity costs" which may occur when the presence of the bilingual program pre-empts other elective programs from being offered. One must recognize, then, that the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program is not without additional costs and that extra funds are being allocated to the program both in individual schools (classroom supplies, etc.) and on a system-wide basis (transportation, curriculum development, etc.).

Rates of Participation in the Bilingual Program

The 'rate of participation' of students of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the program -- that is to say, the ratio of the number of students of Ukrainian origin who are enrolled in the program to the total number of students of Ukrainian origin attending Edmonton elementary schools -- cannot be readily calculated. Before examining the participation rate of students of Ukrainian origin, however, mention should be made of the numbers of non-Ukrainian students who participated in the program during the first five years. The Edmonton Catholic School District, in its evaluations of their bilingual program for the years 1975, 1976 and 1977, asked parents to give their 'ethnic origin'. It found that in any year, there was no more than one student in the program who was not at least of 'partial' Ukrainian origin. Evidently, participation of non-Ukrainian children in the program has remained negligible since its inception.

The participation rate of children of Ukrainian origin can be estimated indirectly. For example, in its evaluation of the first year of the program (E.P.S.B. 1975:5) the public board identified 477 non-participating grade one pupils "as having Ukrainian surnames". Of this number, 36 parents were found by way of telephone interview to be "not of Ukrainian ethnic origin". Thus, 441 children of Ukrainian origin with Ukrainian surnames were enrolled in the public board's regular grade one classes. Of course, some children of Ukrainian origin not enrolled in the bilingual program may belong to families whose surname has been anglicized. More importantly, a large number of the non-participating children of Ukrainian descent would have non-Ukrainian surnames due to ethnic intermarriage.

In the statistical appendix of Book IV, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969) reports that in 1941 the endogamy rage (i.e., the rate at which persons marry within their own ethnic group) of Ukrainians in Canada was 80%, in 1951 it was more than 70%, and slightly more than 60% in 1961. Estimates from 1971 census data (Roberts & Clifton 1982) indicate that for 1971 this rate would be of the order of 50%. Other findings

(Petryshyn, 1979) show that most children of Ukrainian descent in Edmonton elementary schools are third or fourth generation Canadians. With the endogamy rates given above and the fact that the children involved are third or fourth generation Canadians, one can calculate that in this particular cohort of children of Ukrainian descent, approximately two-thirds would have Ukrainian surnames while the remaining one-third would not.

Consequently, one would expect that if 441 children of Ukrainian ethnic origin and with Ukrainian surnames were in the regular program, then half as many more in the regular program would be of Ukrainian ethnic origin with non-Ukrainian surnames (i.e., the ratio of the number of children with non-Ukrainian surnames to the number of children with Ukrainian surnames but all of Ukrainian background, is 1/3 to 2/3, or 1 to 2, or 1/2). In this way it can be estimated that somewhere in the order of 221 students (i.e., one-half of 441) with non-Ukrainian surnames but of Ukrainian ethnic origin would be in the regular grade one program. An estimated total, then, of 662 (441 plus 221) grade one students of Ukrainian background did not participate in the public school's English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in 1974-75. Since 70 other students, apparently all of Ukrainian background, were involved in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in the public system in that year, the participation rate for children of Ukrainian ethnic origin is 9.6% [70 ÷ (662 + 70)]. Again, while the calculation of this rate is rather rough, it does take into account those children of Ukrainian origin whose surnames are not Ukrainian-sounding.

In its second evaluation, the E.P.S.B. (1976:3) found 16 grade one students with "Ukrainian surnames who attended the program schools" but were not enrolled in the bilingual program. If half as many again were added to this number to account for students of Ukrainian origin with non-Ukrainian surnames, as explained above, the result is 24 students (i.e., 16 plus 8). As 62 students were enrolled in grade one of the bilingual program, the participation rate for children of Ukrainian origin at the schools which offered the program was 72.1% [62 ÷ (24+62)].

Two reasons can be given to explain why this figure is more than seven times as great as the 9.6% calculated earlier. First, one would expect the participation rate to be higher at the schools which offered the program than the rate for the entire system because many parents would not want to remove their child from their neighbourhood school and send them to one more distant in order to participate in the bilingual program. Hence, the participation rate would be higher if all neighbourhood schools were to offer the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program instead of just a few scattered schools. Secondly, notwithstanding the above, many of the students in the program came to the particular schools which offered the program in order to participate in the program. Thus, students who would otherwise attend other schools were attracted to the program schools by the program itself, and their numbers inflated the participation rates at these schools. Nevertheless, the figure of 72.1% provides fuel for speculation concerning what system-wide rates might be if more schools offered the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program.

During the summer of 1977 a project "designed to contact parents with Ukrainian surnames in Edmonton who had kindergarten or grade one school-age children, but who had chosen not to enter the English-Ukrainian [Bilingual] program for the 1977-78 school year" (Petryshyn 1978:105) was carried out under the supervision of the Ukrainian Bilingual Association. An Edmonton Public School System list of all kindergarten children entering the regular grade one program in September of 1977 provided a list of 220 families with "slavic sounding names", and the Edmonton Catholic School Board provided the names of 98 more families with children who were entering its regular grade one from its kindergartens. The total number, then, of children with Ukrainian surnames who were not planning to enter grade one of the bilingual program in either board was 318. Again, to account for non-participants in the program of Ukrainian origin with non-Ukrainian surnames, one-half of the 318 (i.e., 159) must be added. Thus 477 (318 + 159) grade one children of Ukrainian origin were not planning to enroll in the bilingual program for the 1977-78 year.

Though the intent of the summer project was "to inform these parents [i.e., with Ukrainian surnames but not having enrolled their child in the program] of the bilingual program and encourage them to join", there is no record of how successful it was in this regard. Nevertheless, if one assumes that none of these parents were convinced to enroll their children in the program (and that is not an obvious assumption), the participation rate so calculated would be the lowest estimate (i.e., in that the number considered to be non-participants would be maximized). In any event, given that 144 children (83 in the public system and 61 in the Catholic system) were in the program in the 1977-78 school year, the participation rate arrived at is 23.2% [144 ÷ (477 + 144)]. This is a dramatic increase over the rate of 9.6% calculated earlier for the first year of operation (1974-75) of the program in the E.P.S.B. One might, however, attribute this increase to the program's becoming more well-known through efforts such as the summer project itself.

Though the participation rates calculated above are only rough estimates of the rate of participation of Ukrainian children in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, they do support the interpretation that the program is attracting a greater proportion of its 'natural clientele' (i.e., children of Ukrainian origin) as it becomes more established.

The Ukrainian Bilingual Association, in its summer of 1977 project, also conducted a telephone survey of Ukrainian parents asking them their "major reasons for not enrolling their children into the program" (Petryshyn 1978:119). Their responses are given in Table 17.

As is shown in Table 17, nearly two-thirds (63.3%) of the Ukrainian parents contacted chose not to enroll their children in the bilingual program for reasons which were not directly concerned with the program itself. These so-called 'neutral' reasons, such as difficulties in transportation and moving out of the city, are contrasted with the remaining 36.7% who gave 'negative' reasons which included having no interest in the program and a negative concept of Ukrainian bilingual education or Ukrainian in general.

Table 17

REASONS GIVEN BY UKRAINIAN PARENTS FOR NOT ENROLLING THEIR CHILDREN IN THE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM, UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL ASSOCIATION SUMMER PROJECT, 1977

Reason	Number	Percentage
Reluctance to take child out of neighbourhood school	70	23.1
Difficulty or inconvenience of transporting child	70	23.1
Learning disabilities	19	6.3
Do not wish to split children	17	5.6
Moving out of Edmonton	14	4.6
Family Problems	1	0.3
Enrolled in special Art school	1	0.3
Sub-Total 'Neutral' Reasons	192	63.3
Simply not interested	28	9.2
Negative to the concept of Ukrainian bilingual education or Ukrainian in general	26	8.6
No reinforcement at home	22	7.3
Favour French over Ukrainian	22	7.3
"Ridna Shkola" or home is sufficient exposure to Ukrainian	9	3.0
Up to child to learn language later in life	3	1.0
Children don't want to learn Ukrainian	1	0.3
Sub-Total 'Negative' Reasons	111	36.7
TOTAL	303	100.0%

One may interpret Table 17 as indicating that if problems surrounding transportation were to be solved by offering the bilingual program in more neighbourhood schools, participation rates might increase considerably.

Also, the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program has "displayed a high retention rate" (E.C.S.B. 1980:1) at all grade levels. The supervisor of Ukrainian language programs for the Edmonton Catholic system explained that no study had been undertaken to determine the bilingual program's attrition rate because "it was not a problem". Indeed, the English-Ukrainian Bilingual consultant for the public board agreed that "attrition is low" for the program. In any event, the Edmonton Public School Board in its evalutaions of the second, third and fourth years of the program did ask parents of children who had left the program for their "reasons for withdrawal".

Between the time the program began in September of 1974 and the end of the 1978-79 school year, an estimated 95 students had withdrawn from the program in the public schools (E.P.S.B. 1977, 1978, 1979). Six of these students had remained in the bilingual program, but had transferred to the Edmonton Catholic School System. They did so, apparently, because the Catholic school was closer, or the parents liked the teacher better, etc. Another 33 students, constituting 35% of the number who withdrew, had moved out of Edmonton. The remaining 56 students (59% of the total) had left the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program and had entered the regular E.P.S.B. program. Of this number the families of 18 could not be reached or did not return questionnaires sent to them. For those who did return the questionnaires, their replies to the question: "Why did you withdraw your child from the bilingual program?" are given in Table 18.

Many parents gave more than one reason for withdrawal. As Table 18 indicates, the major reasons given for withdrawals from the program concern the child's 'academic performance' (e.g., difficulties with English Language Arts, learning Ukrainian, Mathematics, and general academic problems including failure were mentioned a total of 36 times); 'personal' reasons (e.g. child or parents disliked the teacher, child's friends or siblings were not in the program, and teacher/counsellor suggested child withdraw were mentioned 13 times); 'structural' reasons (e.g., transportation problems, split classes, child wanted another option, and lunch time supervision problems were mentioned 10 times); and 'program-specific' reasons (e.g., that the child did not find the program interesting and that the parents thought too much Ukrainian was used in the program were mentioned 5 times).

That a child would be withdrawn from the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program and placed in the regular program because of difficulty in learning Ukrainian seems to be a logical move. Also, while other academic performance problems encountered by a child in such a program would not necessarily be alleviated by removing the child from the program, one can appreciate that parents would hope that a change might help. This last response can be further appreciated in that the bilingual program has an added dimension (Ukrainian language and culture) over the regular program and thus can be construed as being more demanding of the student. Regardless, the so-called 'academic performance' reasons

Table 18

REASONS GIVEN BY PARENTS FOR WITHDRAWING THEIR CHILDREN FROM THE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM, EDMONTON PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD, 1974-79

Rank	Reason	Frequency
1	Child had difficulty with English Language Arts	12
2	Child had difficulty learning Ukrainian	10
3	Child and/or parents disliked teacher	8
4	Child had general academic problems	7
5	Transportation problems	6
6	Child failed, repeating in regular program	4
7	Child had difficulty with Mathematics	3
	Teacher/counsellor suggested child withdraw	3
	Child did not find program interesting	3
8	Parents did not want child in split grade class	2
	Child's friends/siblings not in program	2
	Parents think too much Ukrainian is used in program	2
9	Child wanted to take another option	1
	Difficulty in arranging lunchtime supervision	1

given for withdrawing a child from the program apparently had little to do with the content or direction of the program itself, but rather focussed on deficiencies in individual abilities and aptitudes. For example, one parent who had withdrawn a child commented that he/she still "supported the program" but that is was just not "effective" for his/her child at that time, while another parent wanted his/her child "to go back into the bilingual program" when the child's academic performance improved (E.P.S.B. 1978:64).

The 'personal' reasons for withdrawal are not due to factors inherent in the bilingual program but rather can be found in the classrooms of the regular school program. The 'structurally' engendered problems (transportation problems, split classes, etc.) can also be found in many regular school programs where enrollments are not high. In fact, there are split classes in the regular programs of Edmonton schools and many students in the regular program have to be bussed to their schools. Finally, reasons for withdrawal which are 'program specific', including the view that the Ukrainian language was used as a language of instruction too extensively were given least frequently (only five times in the first five years of the program). It is clear from this data, then, that the vast majority of withdrawals were not due to disenchantment or disaffection with the bilingual program. (It must also be remembered that the number of withdrawals from the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program is, an any case, not high.)

Academic Performance of Students in the Bilingual Program

For the first five years of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program both Edmonton school boards administered a series of standardized English and mathematics achievement tests at the end of each school year. These tests, designed to assess pupil achievement in the regular or non-Ukrainian component of the bilingual program's curriculum, were given to all students in all grade levels of the program (except grade one in 1978-79) and to various control groups.

The Edmonton Public School Board administered the Stanford Achievement Test, a four part English language reading test, and the Elementary School Mathematics Survey in the first two years of the program. In the remaining years for which testing was carried out, the two-part Elementary School Reading Survey replaced the Stanford Achievement Test, except for grade one students in the 1977-78 school year. In the program's first year of operation the Edmonton Catholic School District administered the two-part Gates-MacGinnitie reading test, the Wide Range Achievement Test (W.R.A.T.), which tested reading, arithmetic and spelling, and the Science Research Association Arithmetic Test (S.R.A. Arithmetic). In the next two years (1975-76 and 1976-77) the Catholic board dropped the W.R.A.T. and added their own internally developed System Spelling Test. In 1977-78, students in grades one through three were administered the same tests as in the previous two years but the grade one students did not take the System Spelling Test. The grade four students did not take the Gates-MacGinnitie test, but took instead the four-part Canadian

Test of Basic Skills which included tests of reading and mathematics. This group was also administered the System Spelling Test. In 1978-79, the last year for which comparative control/bilingual program test scores are available, the Catholic and public systems did not test grade one students. Of the remaining grades in 1978-79, the second and third grades were given the same tests as they had in the previous year and grades four and five received the same tests as had the grade four in the previous year. All in all, the achievement of bilingual program students in English and mathematics was widely tested during these first five years of the program.

In the evaluations conducted by both school boards, control groups drawn from the regular school program were used for each year and at each grade level. In the first year, 1974-75, the public system created a control group of regular grade one students with Ukrainian surnames. These controls were matched with an 'experimental' group consisting of all students in the bilingual program according to sex, Metropolitan Readiness Test scores, Ukrainian language skills of parents, and socio-economic status. In the next two years the control groups used were made up of all students at each grade level in the schools which offered the bilingual program. The surviving members (i.e., still in the E.P.S.B. and at the grade three level) of the original control group assembled in 1974-75 (i.e., regular program students with Ukrainian surnames) were also used in 1976-77 as a second control for the grade three bilingual program students. Students randomly selected from the regular program in the bilingual schools were used as the control groups in 1977-78 and 1978-79. In all of these years the 'experimental' group consisted of all students in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program.

The Catholic system set up two control groups in the first year of the bilingual program. One consisted of grade one Ukrainian students in the regular program, and the other of grade one non-Ukrainian students in the regular program. Both control groups were matched with the experimental bilingual program students on Lee Clark Readiness scores, SES, and sex. In the last four years of testing the control group was made up of students in the regular program at the schools which offered the bilingual program and a few students from "neighbouring schools". Students from this group were matched with bilingual program students on the basis of grade, sex, age, Primary Mental Ability test scores, and SES. Again, all students in the bilingual program were included in the experimental group in all years, except grade one in 1978-79 for which no testing was done.

The results of the comparison of the bilingual program students and their various control groups on the standardized English and mathematics achievement tests outlined above are summarized in Table 19. The findings indicate that the bilingual program students more often did better than the control groups. However, in the program's first year of operation, the public board found that the bilingual program students did significantly more poorly on the Word Study Skills subtest of the Stanford Achievement Test. The board offered no explanation for this finding, and in any event, by the next year the grade one bilingual

Table 19

Comparison of Bilingual Program Students and Their Controls on Standardized English and Mathematics Achievement Tests *

Year	Grade	Public System	Catholic System
1974-75	1	Bilinguals < controls on Stanford Achievement	No differences
1975-76	1	Controls < bilinguals on Stanford Achievement Bilinguals < controls on Elementary Mathematics	No differences
	2	Controls < bilinguals on Stanford Achievement Controls < bilinguals on Elementary Mathematics	No differences
1976-77	1	No differences	Controls < bilinguals on S.R.A. Arithmetic
	2	Controls < bilinguals on Elementary Reading Controls < bilinguals on Elementary Mathematics	Controls < bilinguals on S.R.A. Arithmetic
	3	No differences	Controls < bilinguals on Gates-MacGinitie
1977-78	1	Bilinguals < controls on Elementary Mathematics	Controls < bilinguals on Gates-MacGinitie
	2	No differences	Controls < bilinguals on Gates-MacGinitie Controls < bilinguals on School System Spelling Bilinguals < controls on S.R.A. Arithmetic
	3	No differences	No differences
	4	No differences	Controls < bilinguals on Canadian Basic Skills Controls < bilinguals on School System Spelling
1978-79	2	No differences	Controls < bilinguals on Gates-MacGinitie Controls < bilinguals on S.R.A. Arithmetic Controls < bilinguals on School System Spelling
	3	No differences	No differences
	4	No differences	Bilinguals < controls on Canadian Basic Skills
	5	Controls < bilinguals on Elementary Reading Controls < bilinguals on Elementary Mathematics	Controls < bilinguals on Canadian Basic Skills

* The symbol '<' indicates that the group on the left scored significantly lower than the group on the right of the symbol.

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program students had reversed the result, scoring higher than their controls on two of four Stanford Achievement subtests.

In 1975-76 first grade bilingual program students scored lower than their control counterparts on the public system's Elementary School Mathematics Survey, but further examination of this result by the board's researchers (Muller et. al. 1977: 181) revealed "that only one of the four bilingual program classes accounted for this difference". Again, in 1977-78 the public system grade one bilingual program students scored less than their controls on the Elementary Mathematics Test. The poor showing of the bilingual program students in mathematics did not worry the board, as it concluded that "if in fact the bilingual students do suffer from an initial lag in this subject it is only temporary since in both 1975-76 and 1976-77 the grade two bilingual program students were superior in mathematics and in [1977-78] the grade 2, 3 and 4 students were on par with students in the regular program" (E.P.S.B. 1978:14).

The Catholic board found even fewer instances where bilingual program students did worse than their control counterparts. In 1977-78 the grade two bilingual program students did less well than their controls on the S.R.A. Arithmetic Test, and in the next year the grade four students did less well on the vocabulary subtest of the Canadian Test of Basic Skills. Despite these two results, the Edmonton Catholic School System (Ewanyshyn 1979: 59-60) concluded the following:

> The implementation and operation of the bilingual program at the elementary level led to positive consequences in pupil

> academic achievement. The bilingual students achieved as well or better, in some instances, than students in the regular program. The results suggest, therefore, that participation in a bilingual program does not hinder student academic progress in the first language of instruction.

For its part, the Edmonton Public School Board, in a summary of the evaluation it had done on the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, concluded that "participation in the bilingual program appears to have had no adverse effect on achievement in either English or Mathematics" (E.P.S.B. n.d.:4). Moreover, in several years the public board divided bilingual program and control students into high, medium, and low-ability levels and conducted an analysis of variance with ability level and program (i.e., bilingual or regular) as the factors. This 'program by ability interaction' test was carried out for both the English and Mathematics test. As the board's 1977-78 (p.9) evaluation explains:

> A program by ability interaction effect would mean that children of a certain ability level would be affected in one way by the type of program they were in, whereas children of another ability level would be affected in another way by that type of program. An example of such an interaction effect would be the case in which gifted children in a bilingual situation did as well or better than gifted children in the regular program, but less able students in a bilingual class did more poorly than students of equivalent ability in the regular program.

However, as no significant differences were found the above example was not evidenced. Low ability students had no more difficulty in the bilingual program than their low ability controls had in the regular program.

Achievement in Ukrainian Language Skills of Students in the Bilingual Program

To determine the degree of achievement in Ukrainian language skills of students in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program the Edmonton Public School Board and Edmonton Catholic School District joined forces in developing the Ukrainian Language Skills Tests. These tests, for all grade levels, went through a process of considerable refinement throughout the life of the bilingual program. Indeed, in the first two years of the program's operation the Catholic board did not make any direct comparisons between pre- and post- test scores of students on the Ukrainian Language Skills Tests because the tests had been changed considerably between September (when the pre-test was administered) and the school year's end (when the post-test was administered). In 1974-75 the public board had insufficient data on one of the test's subtests to allow comparisons between pre- and post-tests, and on another subtest it felt that a "ceiling effect" prevented adequate testing of the full capacity of the students. In subsequent years of the bilingual program both boards continued to refine the Ukrainian Language Skills Tests cooperatively. Eventually the grade one test focussed on listening and speaking skills, while the tests designed for higher grades measured reading and writing skills as well.

By 1976-77 these tests had developed to the extent that the boards felt confident in offering comparisons between pre- and post-test scores. As shown in Table 20, significant ($p < .01$) gains in Ukrainian language skills were made in all grades and years, and in both the public and Catholic school systems. There are apparently no patterned differences in Ukrainian language achievement between years, grades, or school boards. Unfortunately, no control groups of students of Ukrainian origin in the regular program were set up, so one cannot say whether the gains shown by the bilingual program students would not have been matched by such control groups. However, one would expect that a school program which uses the Ukrainian language for fifty percent of its classroom time would be a contributing factor to any gain its students might achieve in Ukrainian language skills over the course of the program. In any event, at the conclusion of its series of evaluations the Catholic school board (Ewanyshyn 1979: 59) felt "that students made significant progress in acquiring Ukrainian language skills during the school year", while the public board (E.P.S.B. 1979:i) felt that the bilingual program students were "acquiring a degree of proficiency in the Ukrainian language".

Appreciation of Ukrainian Culture by Students in the Bilingual Program

As has been discussed earlier, linguistic proficiency without cultural appreciation is not an aim of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program. Indeed, the Ukrainian language is pursued in the program not out of any functional necessity but rather as a medium of cultural expression. Thus, a primary objective of

Table 20

COMPARISONS OF PRE AND POST TEST MEAN SCORES OF STUDENTS IN THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM ON THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE SKILLS TESTS BY GRADE, YEAR, AND SCHOOL BOARD

			Public System			Catholic System		
Year	Grade	Maximum Possible Score	Pre	Post	Gain	Pre	Post	Gain
1976-77	1	90	47.4	68.0	20.6	37.7	70.8	33.1
	2	137	45.1	103.0	57.9	38.9	108.0	69.1
	3	140	49.7	91.8	42.1	83.2	121.4	38.2
1977-78	1	100	35.1	65.4	30.3	47.6	73.2	25.6
	2	137	37.9	85.6	47.7	37.1	101.1	64.0
	3	135	52.7	81.3	28.6	68.2	94.2	26.0
	4	140	67.2	94.6	27.4	95.6	116.7	21.1
1978-79	2	137	39.5	98.0	58.5	68.3	114.7	46.4
	3	135	65.1	93.5	28.4	80.4	105.9	25.4
	4	140	61.3	81.3	20.0	75.5	102.8	27.3
	5	140	60.0	76.0	16.0	85.1	96.7	11.6

the bilingual program is to foster increased appreciation of the Ukrainian cultural heritage. Efforts to directly test students to determine the achievement or non-achievement of this objective have been sporadic and less than sophisticated.

For example, some of the grade one students in the first year of the program were asked a series of questions to which they responded by underlining a drawing of a 'happy' or 'sad' face. When asked "How do you feel about Ukrainian people?", 100% (N=45) of the students in the Catholic board's bilingual program underlined the 'happy' face (Tomko 1975:56). In the 1976-77 year the Edmonton Catholic School District developed a student attitude questionnaire which consisted of ten items designed to obtain a profile of the students' attitudes towards Ukrainian language and cultural activities. The questionnaire was administered to the grade three students in the bilingual program in 1976-77 only. Though some items and the scoring procedures were somewhat suspect, the conclusion drawn from the results of the questionnaire was that the student attitudes were "highly positive" towards Ukrainian language and culture (Ewanyshyn 1977:58-59).

Perhaps the best means to determine changes in pupil appreciation of the Ukrainian cultural heritage is by indirect means, that is, by teacher and parent reports. Table 21 shows how the parents of students viewed the changes in their children's attitudes towards the Ukrainian culture as a result of their children's participation in the bilingual program. Positive changes in appreciation of the Ukrainian culture were

Table 21

PARENTS' APPRAISAL OF HOW THEIR CHILD'S APPRECIATION OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE HAS CHANGED AS A RESULT OF BEING IN THE ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM, IN PERCENTAGES

Year	Board	Grade	N	Positive Change	No Change	Negative Change
1974-75	Public	1	50	76.0	16.0	8.0
	Catholic	1	35	88.5	8.6	2.9
1975-76	Catholic	1	34	97.2	2.8	0.0
		2	34	85.3	14.7	0.0
1976-77	Public	1	67	90.6	10.4	0.0
		2	38	71.1	26.3	2.6
		3	38	94.7	5.3	0.0
	Catholic	1	45	84.5	13.3	2.2
		2	33	93.9	6.1	0.0
		3	37	97.3	2.7	0.0
1977-78	Public	1-4	198	88.9	8.6	1.5
	Catholic	1	49	93.9	6.1	0.0
		2	29	86.3	10.3	3.4
		3	23	87.0	13.0	0.0
		4	36	94.4	5.6	0.0
1978-79	Public	2-5	146	96.6	3.4	0.0

reported from a low of 71.1% of the parents for the grade two classes in the public schools in 1976-77, to a high of 97.3% in the grade three classes of the Catholic system for that same year. On the other hand, no more than a handful of parents throughout the program's existence have reported a negative change in their child's appreciation of Ukrainian culture. In general, then, one can conclude from Table 21 that parents feel that the bilingual program has helped to develop in students a more positive appreciation of Ukrainian culture.

Teachers in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program share the parents' positive evaluation of the program's impact upon student appreciation of Ukrainian culture. All teachers in the Catholic school system, in all years, felt that their students were developing a "greater appreciation" of Ukrainian culture. Their counterparts teaching in the public system, though at times not completely satisfied with the degree to which the objective of developing greater student appreciation of the Ukrainian culture was being achieved, also nevertheless overwhelmingly saw positive changes in student attitudes. In summary, then, the responses of students, teachers and parents to questionnaires indicate that children in the bilingual program have developed greater appreciation of the Ukrainian cultural heritage.

Summary

From its inception in September of 1974 the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program has been well received by the Ukrainian community of Edmonton. Enrollments in both the public and Catholic boards have shown steady growth. Estimates indicate a fairly high rate of participation in the program from the expected clientele -- i.e., students of Ukrainian origin. Also withdrawals from the program for reasons pertaining to parental or student dissatisfaction have been minimal.

The program is 'fully bilingual' in that both Ukrainian and English are used as languages of instruction for half of the normal class time. The Ukrainian language is not restricted to 'cultural subjects' only and is used in the social studies course and elsewhere. Furthermore, in the Edmonton Catholic School Board Ukrainian is used in teaching the religion component of its curriculum. In general, Ukrainian is given equal status with English in the program.

It must be mentioned that although claims are made to the effect that the bilingual program is 'without extra cost', the Department of Education and the school boards as well as the Ukrainian community, including parents, have paid out monies over and above the cost of a regular program. In the final analysis, of course, it is the taxpayer who is paying much of the additional costs of this and similar bilingual programs.

In terms of achievement, the students in the program have performed well. As a group the bilingual program students achieve as well as or better than students in the regular program in English language skills and mathematics. Significant gains in Ukrainian language skills have also been recorded for the bilingual program students. In addition, the parents of these students feel that as a result of the program their children have developed a greater appreciation of the Ukrainian culture.

In summary, the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program conducted in the Edmonton Public School Board and the Edmonton Catholic School District appears to be a very successful program. Overall, parents, teachers and school administrators alike are pleased with the bilingual program and the progress of its students.